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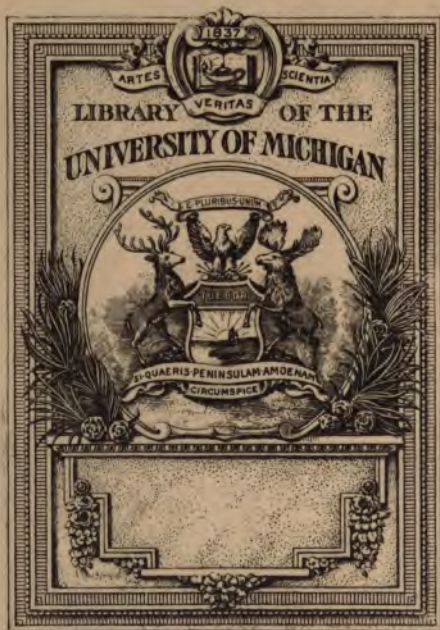
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THE ENGLISH REPUBLIC.

THE ENGLISH REPUBLIC

41013

BY
W. J. LINTON

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY
KINETON PARKES



LONDON
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PATERNOSTER SQUARE

1891

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INTRODUCTION.

MR. WILLIAM JAMES LINTON was born in London on December the 7th, 1812, and was educated at a school at Stratford, Essex, conducted by the Reverend Dr. Burford. When he was sixteen he became a pupil of G. W. Bonner, a well-known engraver on wood, residing in Kennington Road, and to whom he was apprenticed. During the years of his apprenticeship were sown those seeds of liberty which were just then freely floating in the air, which afterwards resulted in the voluminous writings on social subjects, which form so considerable a portion of his work in literature. His was a large nature, and the art of engraving was never a mere profession with him, but part of his life, just as was his love of liberty and of poetry. On the conclusion of his apprenticeship he became a professional wood engraver, subsequently joining Orrin Smith in Judd St., Brunswick Square. When, in 1842, *The Illustrated London News* was started, Linton and Smith engraved much important work for that journal. In this year he was editing *The Odd Fellow*, a magazine of politics and general literature, which was afterwards called *The Fireside Journal*. A few months before Orrin Smith's sudden death, the partners removed to No. 85 Hatton Garden, and these premises were retained by Mr. Linton for several years. It was here that many of the most revolutionary spirits of that excited time were wont to congregate, and from this address several of Mr. Linton's early publications were issued. About the year 1838 Mr. Linton became acquainted with James Watson, the celebrated publisher of Queen's Head Passage, Paternoster Row, with whom he was on terms of friendship until his death, and also with Hetherington, Cleave, and other leaders of the extreme Radical and Chartist parties. Contact with such men as these fired the young artist's blood, and he threw himself into the struggle with all the impetuosity of his fervent nature. In appearance he was

animated and handsome, with bright eyes and long auburn hair. He was generous with his time and talents, and open-handed with his money, and whenever a young reformer, or propagandist, was in want of an illustration for a tract or pamphlet, the engraver-poet was ready with a design, which he drew and engraved gratuitously. All the circulars of the "Garibaldi Fund" were designed and engraved by him. He was always a friend of the "Friends of Italy." Even at this early period his reputation as an engraver was spreading over England and America, and his faculty of design was as great as his facility with the graver.

When the outbreak of Frost, Jones, and Williams occurred, and these three men were condemned to death for high treason, Mr. Linton was among the first of those who came forward to prepare the monster petition which resulted in the commutation of the sentence. In 1844 he was intimately associated with Mazzini, and assisted him in bringing before the notice of Parliament the proceedings of Sir James Graham, who had caused letters to Mazzini and other exiles in England to be opened, and one of the results of which was the judicial murder by the Austrian Government of the brothers Bandiera. The case was taken up from Mazzini and Linton by James Stanfield and T. S. Duncombe, who brought it forward in the House of Commons. From this time forward Mr. Linton's relations with Mazzini and other Italian refugees were of an intimate nature. He was also connected with W. J. Fox and his party. In 1848 he was the deputy selected by the English workmen to carry their congratulatory address to their French brethren, on the establishment of the first Provincial Government.

The first of the series of publications which Mr. Linton has issued from time to time was *The National, a Library for the People*, which was published by James Watson in 1839. It was a kind of miscellany consisting of extracts from writers of liberal views, with comments by Mr. Linton, who also supplied original articles. It ran to twenty-four numbers, forming a single volume, each number containing an engraving. In 1845 a remarkable book appeared called "Bob Thin." This was a satire on the then

existing state of things; a state, moral and material, which dwellers in the social atmosphere of to-day find it difficult to realise, so dark was it. Whatever the shortcomings of the present time may be, the efforts of men of the stamp of the band of reformers of half a century ago have not been wasted. The good they did is still with us, while there still remains a field full wide for those who would follow in their steps. "Bob Thin" was chiefly directed against the Poor Laws, and was exhibited in the life of a pauper: it was written in doggerel verse and appeared as "Twenty-six Cuts at the Times" in the pages of *The People's Review*, the first sixpenny review that ever appeared, and for which Mr. Linton designed and engraved the title, and engraved also a portrait head of Milton, which adorns the cover. "Bob Thin" was first printed in 1845 for private circulation. It had a number of small woodcuts down the sides of the pages, which were drawn and engraved by Mr. Linton. In *The People's Review* these "Twenty-six Cuts at the Times," appear as being "furnished by BOB THIN, forming an Illustrated Alphabet for all those Little Politicians who have not yet learned their Letters, with a Preface, but no Wrapper." The preface I quote, for apart from the explanation it offers of the "Cuts" and verses which follow it, there is a prophetic ring about it, which seems to announce the whimsical rhymes of certain celebrated librettos of to-day:—

"Most sort of stories may be made of any raw material :
So we commence to improvise an Alphabetic serial.
Our Letters were not ordered, but came to us accidentally :
May the text be found as useful as the cuts look ornamentally."

The original title of the privately printed brochure was, "Bob Thin, or the Poor House Fugitive." The editorship of *The Illuminated Magazine* passed into the hands of Mr. Linton, in this year, from those of Douglas Jerrold.

About 1846, Mr. Linton advertised "A Store of Children's Books," as being written and illustrated by "Mr. C. Honey-suckle," to be had from 85 Hatton Garden. The Mr. C. Honey-suckle was Mr. Linton himself, and these books, which were chiefly devoted to flowers, were all coloured

and drawn with a careful feeling for nature, the author's contention being that children ought never to look upon any representation of a living thing that was not perfectly true to its prototype in nature. In those days, drawings of the crudest character were considered good enough for children. These books were utterly unlike anything which had then appeared, and there has not been since any which surpass them.

In 1848, Mr. Linton conceived the idea of bringing out a paper in the Isle of Man, which had then the privilege of free postage. This was called *The Cause of the People*, and was a well-printed quarto on fine thick paper which bore the impress of taste. It was the first publication of a political nature which had been produced in such a style. The designs in it were furnished by Mr. Linton, and the arrangement of the paper was his. He wrote occasionally under the name of "Spartacus," and contributed "petitions" almost every week, which were remarkable for their relevance, brevity, and logical force. Mr. G. J. Holyoake was also associated with this enterprise.

In 1850, one of the most notable of all the journalistic enterprises of the century, *The Leader*, made its appearance. This celebrated weekly newspaper was projected by Thornton Leigh Hunt and Mr. Linton, with whom was closely associated George Henry Lewes. When Mr. Linton devoted his energies to this matter, it was with the hope and intention of establishing a paper which should be at once the organ and nucleus of a republican party in England, and be open also for truthful accounts of republican views and republican doings throughout Europe. A department of the paper was allotted to Mr. Linton, but his writings were "edited" by the editor-in-chief, Thornton Hunt. He found that Hunt and Lewes were not what he considered true republicans, and that while they were willing enough to make use of him and his connection with Mazzini and the Polish Republican party, they were not willing that he should go the lengths he desired in his own department of the paper. In the prospectus of the journal it was announced that among other reforms it would advocate "the full exercise of the Franchise" and "Free Trade," and with these aims Mr.

Linton was in accord. There were, however, other matters of equal importance, which his colleagues would not touch, and he was consequently compelled to sever himself from these connections, and to strive to stand alone on his own ground and to fight his combat single-handed.

With this object in view he started *The English Republic*. The first number appeared at the beginning of 1851. The contents were mostly written by Mr. Linton himself, but he also included papers from other pens, including those of Alexander Herzen, Charles Stolzman, Wendell Phillips, and Joseph Mazzini, and was helped considerably by Mr. Joseph Cowen. Mr. Linton's own contributions were both in prose and in verse, exclusively of a political or social character, and mainly dealing with republican matters. On these subjects, also, he included articles by Mazzini and others which had appeared elsewhere, but which helped him in his purpose, as well as passages, sometimes of considerable length, from books he regarded as standard works on republicanism, and articles he had himself contributed to a periodical published in 1850, called *The Red Republican*, edited by Mr. G. J. Harvey. Everything, both in prose and verse, which has not the author's name appended, was written by Mr. Linton. There were four volumes of *The English Republic* printed. The title page of volume the first was as follows :

THE
ENGLISH REPUBLIC:
GOD AND THE PEOPLE.

Then came the unfurled flag of the Republicans, the standard of which appears strongly planted in the rock, and the flag itself with the colours blue, white and green, reaches to the clouds.

EDITED
BY
W. J. LINTON.

LONDON :
J. WATSON, QUEEN'S HEAD PASSAGE, PATERNOSTER ROW.
1851.

This volume opens with an address dated December, 1850, in which after briefly commenting upon the state of the Government of the time, the editor remarks that in his venture "there will be at least a known centre and a voice" for the Republican Party in England; and he continues, "it will be for the members of the party themselves to determine how far they use it," and concludes by saying: "Such counsel and service as from time to time I may be able to offer shall not be wanting."

With volume the second, a fresh system of publication was adopted, and *The Republic* was styled "A Series of Tracts." The volume includes the years 1852 and 1853, and contains a hundred tracts—the first dated January 1st, 1852, and the last November 26th, 1853. These two volumes were printed at Leeds. In 1854 more extensive changes were made. It was now called "A Newspaper and Review," and "edited by W. J. Linton, and published by him at Brantwood, Coniston, Windermere, Westmoreland," and the motto is changed from "God and the People" to "The Formation of a Nation is a Religion," from Mazzini. Volume the third runs through the year 1854; in 1855 we find only an incomplete volume, which extends from January to April the 15th, when the editor makes "a conclusion." He styles himself "a political Jeremiah," and says that the "response is not sufficient to justify a further continuance of 'his' endeavour, at all events, in the present manner;" and concludes the whole series as follows:—"I end the task I undertook some years ago. I am yet ready to bear my part in the future's work."

At Brantwood Mr. Linton had set up a private press, from which he issued other things besides *The Republic*. In 1866, before going to America, Mr. Linton sold Brantwood to Mr. Ruskin.

There were only some three hundred copies of each issue of *The English Republic* printed, a certain number of which were sold by James Watson, and some were sent to Mr. Cowen at Newcastle-on-Tyne, and the rest were given away. The complete set is now a great rarity, and I have not been able to obtain a copy for the purposes of this edition in spite of much advertising. Of course, the venture did not pay ex-

penses, but that could hardly be expected, when the edition was so limited, and the sale more limited still. However this may be, its work was accomplished, its object achieved, and an exposition of Republicanism given to the class for whom it was designed. In this its projector was not disappointed, and, in spite of the lapse of forty years, his opinions remain unchanged; and although Republican England is still something lacking achievement, his confidence in the principles he laid down then is unshaken.

Mr. Linton holds that what a man prints or says deliberately in public is no longer his, but belongs to the world, especially when he ventures to assume the office of teacher. Though there is much he would wish bettered in its expression, there is nothing he has written during a literary life of more than half a century that he would recant; nothing he would recall except its (as he chooses to regard it) poorness of accomplishment. During that half century he has not changed his peculiar opinions concerning things and men, and he does not live in any expectation of seeing the realisation of his younger hopes; but he does live in the sure hope that his aspirations will be realised in the future, whether it be near or far.

Thinking thuswise, Mr. Linton has kindly given his permission to me to reprint such of the essays as I thought desirable, and such as would be useful at the present hour, as contributions to the discussion of the social question which is ever with us, and which, in its main details, differs but little from what it was in the time of the original publication of *The English Republic*. How well Mr. Linton's contributions to the subject apply to-day is to be gleaned by even a hasty perusal of the following pages, but how much they contribute to the solution of the difficulty will be revealed to the more careful reader and student.

The essays I have selected will give a very adequate idea of the scope of the original *English Republic*.

We have seen briefly what was the origin and occasion of the work; we have yet to learn the principles which underlie what is written hereafter.

In 1867, Mr. Linton published at New York a brochure,

entitled, "Ireland for the Irish, Rhymes and Reasons against Landlordism, with a Preface on Fenianism and Republicanism." In this preface Mr. Linton gives an admirable definition of what he considered Republicanism to consist in, and I have ventured to quote from this at length as it throws much light upon his work in *The English Republic*.

He says by the Republic:—

"We mean not only the displacement of a particular form of government; but, believing that presidents are but slightly improved constitutional sovereigns, we mean the abolition of class government, which is monarchy, under whatever name. We mean not merely giving the land to the people, and enfranchising them from their thralldom under the priesthood; we mean not only this or that remedial measure, however just or needful; but we mean a radical reorganisation of government and of society, a reorganisation which shall pervade all ranks and conditions of men, a reorganisation whose principles we accept as a faith, defend with our reason, and dare to maintain and promote with our lives.

"By the one word REPUBLIC we mean the equal right of all men to well-being and well-doing, and the ordering of all the powers and capabilities of society for the bettering of every member toward the perfecting of the whole.

"We mean that there shall be none uneducated, none without property, none shut out, by legislative enactment or social hindrance, from the people's land, or from whatever the commonwealth can furnish for their spiritual and material advantage.

"We mean the abolition of the tyrannies of rank and wealth, the abolition of all arbitrary distinctions and artificial disabilities calculated to prevent any individual from reaching the fullest growth and perfection of his or her nature. We mean the protection of the weak against the strong. We mean the assurance of every member of society against tyranny or accident. We mean the equal care of State embracing every individual as a part of the whole.

"We mean also that the State should maintain its rights to the service of all its members. We mean that each should be dutiful to all. We mean that duty shall be no more a vague or an idle word; that it shall really express the relation of the parts to the whole, the relation by which a man or a woman becomes the servant of the actual time or the surrounding society—of family, of country, of the world—bound to help to the utmost in the progressions of Humanity, with no limits except the possibilities of the individual's particular sphere.

"We mean by *The Republic* a form of government in which all may participate; a government not to be surrendered to rulers or 'representatives,' but to be directly exercised by the people themselves, originating, discussing, and enacting their own laws, deputing only their officers to carry out the popular will, the expression of the people's intellect and conscience.

"We mean also by that word *Republic* to express the connection not only between the State and the individual, but between States or nations, and the community of nations—the whole of Humanity. We mean that, as individuals are component parts of the State or body politic, so State or nation are component parts of the Universal Republic, the body politic of Humanity, bound in duty toward that, and entitled to the protection of that against all interference or encroachment.

"We mean by that word *Republic* the oneness of Humanity, the equality of all peoples and of all the people. We mean that there is one common object and purpose in all times and among all races of mankind, the progress from improvement to improvement, through successive discoveries and applications of the laws of human life, of which law the whole people, and no priestly class whatever, are the interpreters; and that it is the duty of every human being to aid in this progress.

"This is our meaning of the word *REPUBLIC*!"

This extract serves admirably as a preface to the present volume, which treats in detail of the principle here defined so tersely.

In the essays which follow will be found a fairly complete exposition of Republicanism. The order in which they are here placed is not the same as that in which they occur in the original volumes, but sequence was not so urgent a necessity in a serial publication as it becomes in a volume purporting to treat of a single subject in its various aspects. The order I have adopted is the best that could be decided upon, any other arrangement of the material at my command being impossible, by some reason or another. It will be found that there are "faults" in the strata, as the geologist would express it; abrupt terminations of one line of argument, and the commencement of another, but this is neither the fault of the author nor of his editor, but of the nature of the subjects treated. It was impossible to give separate chapters to each separate subject (if this had been done some of the chapters would have consisted of a couple of pages), so the materials have been welded as carefully as their natures admitted; and if the consistency of one or two of the chapters is a trifle varied in its composition, this explanation, it is hoped, will be found sufficient to account for it.

About the time when *The English Republic* was first

projected, Mr. Linton had left London and was residing near to Whitehaven, at Ravenglass, to which address he had invited, in *The Red Republican*, all his sympathisers to write to him, the result of which invitation was the formation of various societies throughout the country, for the propagation of the principles he professed. From Ravenglass his woodblocks were sent up to town at short intervals. Subsequently he removed to the estate at Coniston, called Brantwood. Here the second and third volumes of the *Republic* were printed, as well as *The Northern Tribune*, a journal in which he was again associated with Mr. Joseph Cowen, and some privately printed books, and here he carried on his wood engraving as before. I am not sure whether "The Plaint of Freedom," the poem which Landor praised enthusiastically, and which was issued anonymously by Mr. Linton, was done at Brantwood, but I fancy it belongs to the year before he went there. The title-page bears the date 1852.

At his house at Coniston he received his exiled and refugee friends, and Colonel Stolzman, a Pole, who fought under the first Napoleon, resided with him for some years, and died here. All men of republican tendencies were welcomed there, as at Hatton Garden he had welcomed Stanislaus Worzell, the Polish banker, who had a pension from the English Government as an exile, in Lord Dudley Stuart's days, and Alexander Herzen, the exiled but rich Russian who wrote a book dealing with the condition of Russia, which was very much noticed and spoken of at the time.

In 1854, Mr. Linton wrote and illustrated a book called "The Ferns of the English Lake Country."

In 1855, Mr. H. D. Linton, a younger brother of Mr. W. J. Linton, and his friend M. Edmond Morin, devised a new illustrated paper to be called *Pen and Pencil*. Morin furnished the money and contributed most of the drawings; Mr. H. D. Linton did the engraving (he had studied engraving with his brother and Orrin Smith); while Mr. W. J. Linton edited the journal in conjunction with Mr. Macrae Moir. After about eight numbers *Pen and Pencil* succumbed to scarcity of capital.

About this time and onwards Mr. W. J. Linton was a constant contributor to *The Nation*, while it was edited by Duffy. Some of his contributions, however, were too fiery even for the Irish Duffy and the Irish *Nation*. He was also a contributor to *The Westminster Review*, *The Examiner*, *The Spectator*, and other journals.

In 1858, he married a second time. His second wife being a daughter of the Rev. J. Lynn of Crosthwaite, in Cumberland, Eliza Lynn, who is well-known now as Mrs. Lynn Linton.

In 1860, his "History of Wood Engraving" was published, and five years after, his first volume of verse called "Claribel, and other Poems," and this volume is the pivot of his career. 1865 is the middle of his literary life, and henceforth we find more time given to poetry and engraving than to politics and society. The strenuous efforts of his earlier years were succeeded by a calmer period, though not a less prolific one.

In 1866 he left England and went to reside in America. In April the following year, "Ireland for the Irish," to which I have previously referred, and from the preface of which I have quoted, was written in New York and published there; this year also saw the production of "Wind-Falls" from his recently acquired printing-press. It is a collection of about two hundred "extracts from imaginary plays." For a long period there is a lull, while he confined himself very largely to his engraving; in 1878, he issued a work called "The Poetry of America." The following year saw the appearance of three volumes, a life of his old friend and publisher, James Watson, of which he privately printed fifty copies; a "Life of Thomas Paine," and "Practical Hints on Wood Engraving." In 1880, Mr. Abel Heywood of Manchester reprinted his life of Watson. In 1881, he published a volume of "Translations from Victor Hugo and Beranger;" in 1882, he issued "Golden Apples of Hesperus," an anthology printed at his private press, called the Appledore Press, at New Haven, Connecticut, seventy-four miles from New York; "Rare Poems of the 16th and 17th Centuries," and a "History of Wood Engraving in America." In 1883, he edited, in conjunction with Mr. R.

H. Stoddard, "English Verse" in five volumes, and in this and the following year he visited England, and worked at the British Museum at researches in the history of Wood Engraving. In 1886, "In Dispraise of a Woman" was printed, but only twenty-five copies; it is a curious book. "Love-Lore" followed in 1887, and in this volume some of his finest verse is to be found. "Famine, a Masque," is, I believe, to be ascribed to 1888; 1889 yielded "Poems and Translations," being a selection from his Poetical Works; and 1890, the magnificent and monumental work, "Masters of Wood Engraving." And thus ends the other twenty-five years of incessant literary and artistic activity, years which would make the lifetime of many another man. In our present connection, we are concerned more with his earlier period, but it cannot be uninteresting to follow up till to-day such a career.

Mr. Linton is now enjoying excellent health and strength at his home at New Haven, and he writes me from there to give his consent to the republication of his work done in the early eighteen-fifties.

In conclusion, I have to render my sincere and hearty thanks to Mr. E. W. Badger, Dr. Chapman, Mr. Joseph Cowen, M.P., Mr. G. J. Holyoake, Mr. F. G. Kitton, Dr. J. A. Langford, Mrs. E. Lynn Linton, and to Mr. H. D. Linton, for important particulars concerning the career of Mr. W. J. Linton.

KINETON PARKES.

Birmingham.

THE ENGLISH REPUBLIC.

CHAPTER I.

REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLES.

Equality—Liberty—Fraternity. Perfectibility—Duty. Association. Family—City—Country. Work—Property. Credit. Education. Rule of the Majority—Mutual Sacredness of the Individual and Society. Individual Duty. God's Law. Grow healthily! Love! Aspire! Progress! Nations. Summary.

Liberty without which all Human Responsibility ends.

Equality without which Liberty is only a deception.

Fraternity without which Liberty and Equality would be means without end.

LIBERTY—Equality—Fraternity. These words are the battle-cry of the Republican—the formula of his faith, without the understanding whereof there is no political salvation. Liberty—Equality—Fraternity—each and all, indissolubly united. Any attempt to solve the Government or regulations of society, without due regard to these three terms, must be a failure.

Equality refers to the ground upon which we would build, rather than to the building; that is to say, equality is a means, not merely an end.

Liberty may be defined as the unchecked opportunity of growth; a means also and not an end.

Fraternity is the link which makes free and equal members constitute humanity: it is the completion of the triple law of human development.

By equality is not meant the equal condition of all men—as dreamed of by some of the Socialists. Equality as a result like that would be unjust and unequal. To take an easy example:—Two children are born with different faculties. One child is born with a faculty or predisposition for painting. Another has no such faculty; his very organisation is against it (he is perhaps too short-sighted to be a painter). What would be meant by the word equality applied to these two children? Must both be painters, or neither? Would this be equality? Would it be equality to prohibit one from exercising a power of good or enjoyment naturally possessed by him? To prohibit only one, recollect! Republican equality is not any such prohibitory equality as this. The true equality would be to give each child the space, the material, the culture most fitted to his growth, and support and improvement: that each might be nurtured and educated to the utmost capability of his nature, even though one should grow to be far greater than the other. Or again: Two children will not grow to the same height; must therefore the taller-growing be stunted? Two men have not the same appetite; one needs for health and sustenance twice as much meat as is needed by the other; must one starve while the other fattens to apoplexy; and because their daily rations are the same weight, shall that be called equality? The equality we desire is at the starting point, and to keep the course, not to check the career of the fleetest, and make all reach the goal at once or not at all.

This is the equality which the Suffrage alone can give us. It is for this that we require the Suffrage as the public recognition and legal guarantee of our equality. For we cannot believe that we shall be treated equally (which means justly) by anyone who would hesitate to acknowledge and assure our equality. And this, spite of all that may be said in denial of rights, is the equality of birthright, the sense in which all men are born equal, and so should live equal. The liberal utilitarian denies that I have any

right, even to my own life, to myself; and so they refuse the Suffrage—the public recognition and public means of using that right. But if I have no right to my own life, who has? Some other man or men? Surely such a theory is too preposterous. Or is it the State alone in which all rights are vested? But what is the State? Am I a part of it? If not, what right can a *foreign* State have in me? If I am a part of it, *only passive*, what right have any to kidnap me and make me a passive part, a tool, a slave, of some collection of my fellow-men, calling themselves a State? If I am recognised as an active part of the State, that is conceding me the Suffrage, the claim to stand upon equal ground before the law, that the law made by all may care for all, may care that all are treated equally: that is to say, that the nature of each shall have full room for development, the life of none be hindered or cleared away to foster or make room for the wantonness of another. Without this equality, liberty and fraternity is only a deception.

For the liberty we want is for the growth of all. Liberty, except upon the ground of equality, would be only the liberty of the stronger, the liberty which is not regulated, every man's hand against every man, and the weakest going to the wall. We want not this liberty, but that diviner liberty which must be regulated by law, guaranteed upon the ground of human equality—the liberty which is unchecked opportunity of growth even for the least and the weakest. The least, whose growth is stunted by the overshadowing of another, is a victim; there is liberty there, *for one*, but not equality and liberty for both. The weakest, whose growth must take the bent of another's stronger will, is a slave; there is liberty there too for the stronger, but not equal liberty for both.

And as liberty falls without equality, so also equality falls without liberty. There may be equality under a despot, or in a well-ordered community without liberty, but how then shall there be various growth, free growth, and progress? We want equal liberty for all; because we want the various growth of all for the collective progress of Humanity. Fraternity is the organisation of this equal liberty, the harmonisation of this

various growth. We do not believe that any man lives only for himself; or that a man's life is bounded by his family, or his neighbours, or his parish, or his country. Family, parish or city, country—these are but so many spheres in which human life is perfected, in which it lives, from which it draws its growth; to which it therefore owes the product of its growth. Humanity we believe to be one whole which ought to be harmonised together, continually reciprocating all the advantages which commerce or science (physical or mental) can procure, which ought to be organised so that a physical victory once gained by a part of the race should be a triumph for the whole, so that a moral gain achieved by an individual should be a possession for the whole—a mutual assurance and co-partnership by means of which the whole world should uphold the weakest, through which the universal progress should step steadily on from aspiration to acquirement, higher and ever higher. This is our definition of Fraternity.

The organisation of Humanity is, therefore, the problem which the Republican proposes to himself. This is the beginning of his formula—Equality, Liberty, Fraternity. Equality of right, freedom of growth, organisation of duty—these for the means, and the progress of Humanity for end.

Perfectibility—Duty.

The progressive development of human faculties and forces in the direction of the moral law—

We cannot be said to believe in Humanity, unless we believe in its progressive development. Deny progress and development, and Humanity is but an idle word. It would mean only the men and women of the present generation, to whom anyone might dispute his owing any duty, if he chose to live secluded and severed from them, helping and hurting none, refusing to receive or give, to have any dealings, to make any bargains with them. For, cut off the past and the future, and one may well consider all connection with mankind as a matter of bargain, and be not in any wise his

"brother's keeper," but as careless of his next neighbour as one at the Antipodes.

But Humanity means the whole, the totality of human kind; not only the men and women of this "present generation," but of all ages, past, present, and to come. You cannot confine yourself to the present generation. What, indeed, is the "present generation," when every day adds and takes away a thousand lives in this little corner of Britain alone? Every minute how many of the "present generation" becoming numbered with the past—every minute the future generation coming into presence.

Here is the basis of *duty* towards Humanity, the duty which is imposed upon us as a moral law, a law of God—the duty which is the relation of a part to the whole. As well might the atoms of a diamond, or the several parts of a flower, deny their position with relation to the perfect diamond or the flower, as man deny his position as part of Humanity, disclaiming the duties which such position entails, refusing the service to which he is bound, with the poor current excuse, "that it is not his place" to perform such dutiful service. The common expression intimates the common duty. It is man's *place* to serve Humanity: the place of the part in subservience to the whole.

What shall he serve except this progressive development? What is the meaning of all history, if it is not this?—that the struggles and sacrifices of one generation are made for another; that the triumphs of the past are inherited by the future; that a gain in any corner of the world spreads, slowly or rapidly, over the whole globe; and that to-day stores all the harvest of the former ages not for its own consuming but for transmission to the future—borrowing the sustenance and support for its own brief journey, and repaying with the interest of whatever its own exertions can accumulate. To-day is but the steward, who hands the wealth of the Past to the real heir, the Future. Let us mount never so high over the piled-up treasure of the Past, the summit of our achievement will be only a vantage ground, from which the Future shall start in quest of loftier worth.

How shall one isolate himself from the future or from the past?

How from the future, when not a deed he may do, nor a word he may utter, nor a thought that stirs his innermost soul, but is as the first touch upon the electric wire, repeating its consequences to countless ages? How from the past? Take any Englishman among us; his sect, his nature and organisation, his very confirmation, the result of ages. Is he nothing changed, in no way advanced, from the first savage of the world? Have not Romans, Saxons, Danes, Normans, contributed to form him such as he is? Nor only Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans, but also all who had previously helped to form them. Is not his very physical structure, a growth, and combination, fed and collected from nearly every portion of the world? Is not his mind richer for the thought of all time, his knowledge the sum of the acquirements of all times? Be he never so poor, is he not a debtor to the Past? Have not the religions of the past done something for him? Has not the science of the past done something too? Which of us taught himself to till the earth? Which of us has discovered for his own behoof the whole art and mystery of clothing? Which of us crosses the ocean without aid from those who have gone before? Which of us is not indebted for some of those high-soaring and holy thoughts, which light even the darkest hearts, and brighten even the duller eyes, to the buried poets and prophets of Humanity? In infancy, youth, sickness, accident, and age, we depend upon the services of others: in vigorous manhood we are no more independent, though sometimes we compel the contribution without which we should scarcely exist. What more argument is needed to prove that man is a part of Humanity—a debtor to Humanity; that the part must bear relation to the whole, that the debtor owes—his duties? Let the honest man pay his debt! This is the moral law imposed upon us; and the fulfilment of it consists in aiding to our uttermost by thought, and word, and act, “the progressive development of human faculties and forces.”

Association.

The only regular means which can attain to the end set forth above—

How else? If men would navigate a ship they associate. If they would work a mine, or reclaim a waste land, they associate. If they would build a town they associate. If they would make war for conquest or in self-defence, still they must associate. The *Laissez-faire* system can only suit those who have no recognition of Humanity as a whole, nor the knowledge of any relation between men, except buyers and sellers whose sole business is personal gain. Yet even in the market there is association, though it be only of some few over-crafty men, to monopolise, to steal an exaggerated price. If buying and selling be the end of society, the purpose and religion of life, and no matter how many of God's creatures are naked, starved, stunted or trodden into the dust, then association may be of little consequence. But the human world has higher destinies than this. Yet the very wolves hunt in packs. The old fable of the bundle of sticks retains its significance; woe to the disunited; strength only to the combined.

Government is the association of forces; Religion, association for the development of the moral law; Education, the association of the intellect and the application of the moral law; Social Economy, the association of labour; the Nation, the association of all the divers faculties of man in their natural and peculiar spheres; and Humanity, the association of nations.

But the association we require is not a compulsory association. That was the way they built the pyramids; that has ever been the mode in which tyrants have used the masses—their slaves. We would not even have the finest compulsory association, though it might be regulated by the patriarchs; not the most admirable community of heaven, content so long as every one can take what he decrees his just share out of the common storehouse.

Not chance association either. We would not trust to the accidental partnerships of men combined for some special end: an East India Company, or a class government, associating to rob the world.

We need an association bound together by faith and identity of purpose, rather than so weak a tie as that of "interest"—an association that shall be expansive, with power of growth, not

stationary—an association in which the tyranny of a centre shall be impossible, in which the fullest growth and widest range of the individual shall be held compatible with the most devoted service to the Republic—yet an association kept together, not only by the careful protection of individual rights, but rather by the harmonious rendering and ordering of social duties, every member of the State intent upon building up the glory and advancing the progress of the whole, even as he would build an altar to the Eternal, or advance his own progress towards the perfection of the Most Perfect.

We need the organised association of the People; the universality of the citizen, free and equal in the several spheres of family, city and country; and the association of countries. And we need this in order to develop, to economise, and to direct all the faculties and forces of Humanity; to make the whole one strong life, healthily educated, maturely wise, self-sustained, and self-collected, surely aimed. Association would leave no powers unused, no efforts undirected. Without association men either bury themselves in miserable egotisms, or, but too often, waste valuable energies in foolish—albeit generous—endeavours to serve their race. Without association, the brotherhood of Humanity would be an “unrealisable programme,” and the progression of Humanity a never-accomplished dream.

Family—City—Country.

So many progressive spheres in which man ought to successively grow in the knowledge and practice of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, and Association—

The first sphere and association is the Family—the first step out of self, the first phase in the practical education of the mature human being.

The child lives for itself: is (or should be) employed, not for Humanity, but for itself. The natural course of a child's life is the perception, the search, and the gathering of the good for itself, in order to perfect its own nature, to prepare it for serving

Humanity. To this end parents and friends wait upon it, and administer to it, requiring no return. Hope sings to it his sweetest songs, furling his vast wings, and walking, as if he were an earthly playmate, with the inexperienced young one. All great and joyful influences are but its playthings, the world its football, and delight its proper food. For the child's business is not to do, nor to suffer (truly, it must both do and suffer, but that is not its business), but to be fostered, and so enabled to grow to its full strength and stature. Childhood over, the world claims the fresh worker, God calls His martyr. Self-perfected, the sacrifice of self (that is to say—service) is next. The child enjoys; the adult loves. For enjoyment is neither the object nor the end of love. Ask of any man who has truly loved—or rather ask of any woman who has loved (not merely accepted a husband) whether the passion meant possession—enjoyment; whether it was not utterly independent of possession or enjoyment, an adoration rather than a desire; whether it was not a sublime soaring out of self, the first endeavour to realise a good, not necessarily to be shared, and rather strengthened than diminished, if bringing suffering instead of joy. God has given us love to lead us from the narrowness of self to the divine width and grandeur of the unselfish spirit of the true worker—the worshipper and realiser of beauty. The lovers are united, and the two becoming one, in their very union, are in danger of stepping back to selfishness; but now children preach the doctrine of sacrifice of duty and service. In these two relations of life are the types of the present and future, in which is involved the whole of human duty.

The Beloved—it is the Present, the beautiful Humanity of our own age, to be loved and laboured for even as one would love and labour for a mistress. The Child—it is the Future, for which the Present toils and accumulates, for which it freely gives its restless days and sleepless nights; for which, if needful, in harness on Liberty's battle-field, or on that most holy altar kings call the scaffold, it would cheerfully render up its life. In one's own family are first learned the lessons of true Republicanism: the equality between the loving, the equal rights of the young souls whom we

call our children, but who are God's children even as ourselves—not property, but unpossessable human lives, as important as our own, by whose cradles we kneel to proffer homage, foreseeing that they shall be greater than ourselves, that we are but their ministers; the freedom of growth which we see to be so needful to them, without which the very race deteriorates, and God's promise of the progression of Humanity through them is made a lie and an impossibility; and the fraternal association which is prophesied in the days of simple childhood, the parents themselves but as elder children in a blessed hierarchy, reverently looked up to, loved, and freely and gladly obeyed, not merely because they are called parents, but because they are felt to be the wisest and best.

Equality, Liberty, and Brotherly Association must have their first seeds planted in the Family. Whoever would destroy this would destroy the very nursery of Republican virtue.

But the Family is only the nursery. We may not bound our sympathies within the walls of home. Though we need not our fellows' help, yet they need us. In the continual battle of life not one soldier can be spared: in the world's work the labourers are ever few (spite of Malthus and the like) compared with the harvest that awaits them. Is Humanity to be served only by those who have no family? Can Society afford that they who have had the best opportunities of learning the worth of Equality, Liberty, and Fraternity, shall be excused from teaching what they have learned by the example of an extended practice? But our special question here is not so much the duty of the individual to Humanity, as the spheres in which that duty can most advantageously be fulfilled.

We say that the first sphere, or inner circle, is the Family; the next the City—the village, parish, or commune; and the Country next.

The Family is the simplest method of association, the most natural, the easiest, and the most binding. We do not believe it could be loosened without violating the best instincts of our nature, without a loss of influence for good which no other method of association could replace. The association of locality and com-

mon occupation we hold to be also worth preserving. A fishing community, a shipping community, a manufacturing community, an agricultural community, either of these will naturally grow up on the spot where its work may best be done. The peculiar habits of their lives impress a peculiarity of character. That and the identity of occupation beget a spirit of companionship, and the brotherly feeling has a wider extension through that growth of natural circumstances than from any arbitrary arrangement for mere economical purposes. We believe in the worth of such local attachments, of such local schools, in whose narrow precincts men may first learn something of the fervour, the devotedness, the intense passion of patriotism. Let the hamlet or the township be a rallying point, a larger *home*, and a pride to its inhabitants; let them toil for the increase of its importance and its renown, jealous of it as a child of the honour of its family. Let the Family be the nursery of Republican virtue, the Village—or the City—the first public school for the Republican life. Each is the Republic in miniature, complete in itself. Complete, but not incapable of expansion. As each Individual is but a part of the Family, so each Family is but a member of a Township, Parish, or Commune, is but a member of the Country. There, on the broad scale, the value of local sympathies, the force of similarity of nature, habit, and idea, are more plainly discernible: and little need be said to prove their importance. History and tradition, habits of thought, modes of life, identity of aims—all these stamp the men of one country as better fitted to work together than to work with the men of another country; all these indicate the essential differences in human character, which help to preserve variety, necessary for the improvement of the race. Language itself, which is but the outward manifestation of character, is not so different as the character beneath. These are the spheres of human work, not necessarily of disunion. Because the men of one craft labour in one workshop, and those of another craft in another, their different work being so best performed, is that any reason why they should be at variance, or any hindrance to their meeting on any common ground to do together that which requires

their combined efforts, or that for which one has no more special aptitude than the other? Need Italy and England be less close in the brotherhood of nations because each shall be distinct as a nation, each having its special task to accomplish in the world's work, each having something to do which can be better done by each in its own sphere than through any cosmopolitan fusion or confusion of the two? We believe that Family, City, and Country, have not been arbitrarily-established spheres of human activity; but that they are the natural, the God-appointed modes of human organisation, which through Republican institutions shall be harmonised together. And we believe this none the less though, under patriarchal despotism, the Family has been abused, children treated as property, as if they were for the parents and the parents not for them; though in the hard and foolish competition of an untaught and unorganised individualism, the City has been walled up, town contending against town, even to the destruction of a common nationality. In the Republic it shall be otherwise. The nation of many families shall be as a brother in the great family of the world, as a loyal township in the human commonwealth.

Work—Property.

The holiness of work, its inviolability, and the property which proceeds from it as its sign and fruit—

The holiness of work, its inviolability. We mean that, as work is a social duty, everyone has a right to the means of fulfilling it, a right to the instruments and opportunities of labour; that no one has the right of hindering another from work.

And the property which proceeds from it. That is to say, we do not believe that the institution of private property is inevitably a nuisance. Our complaint is not that there is too much individual property, but that there is too little; not that the few have, but that the many have not. Property, wherever it is the real *result of work*—"its sign and its fruit"—we deem inviolable, sacred as individual right!

On a piece of wild land, unclaimed by any, I build a log hut;

I clear a portion of the ground ; I plant potatoes or sow wheat, with my own hands labouring unaided. The wheat and potatoes there grown are just sufficient to feed me and my family. They are my property. They (*not the land*) are my work, a growth which is the result, the sign and fruit of my toil. If the title is not absolutely mine, at least none other can show so good a title. I have created at least the overplus of wheat and potatoes that remains after subtracting an amount of seed equal to that sown (if there is any question how I came by that). I, only I, have the right to my own creation.

I have a rose-tree, one I budded on a wild stock. I have cared for it, tended it, nursed it through severe winters. It is mine. What right have you to it? Will the State intervene and appoint what is *mine* and what is *thine*? Give me perhaps some other rose-tree and you this. It can only do so ignorantly. The State knows nothing of the value of my rose—its peculiar value to me. Its flowers have been gathered for my sick children ; the Beloved has shed her last smile upon its bloom. It is a sacred thing to me. To all the world else it is only a common rose-bush. How can the world's title to it equal mine?

I have a dog which I have reared from a puppy. He knows me, loves me. He might be useful to others: he would be to none what he is to me ; none can be to him what I have been and am. Have not I the best title to him?

If any superior taste and ingenuity—perhaps working extra hours—can, without taking from others, adorn the walls of my house, improve its furniture, and make my home a palace in comparison with my neighbours—is there any reason why he should share with me, take my pictures, or my sofas into his rooms—take even one of them? Or rather, why should I be deprived of these *enjoyments of my own creation* until others, either through their own labour or mine, could acquire the same enjoyment?

All these things *fairly produced* by me are mine ; they are as it were an atmosphere of my own with which I have surrounded myself, a radiance from my own light of life, an emanation from myself. No Government, State, or Commonweal, has any right

here, to trench upon my personal, private, individual right, to rob me for even the world's benefit.

But suppose I produce more than sufficient, while others need ? Has the State no right then ? No, it has not. Let it try its right ! *I unaided by it produced.* It has power, and it will confiscate. What follows ? This :—I will not again be fool enough to produce *for confiscation.* I care nothing for your "tyrant's plea" of necessity for the general good. I will not produce, if I cannot be secure in my possession. Some one says—"But you have told us of a duty towards Humanity." That is true too. But here we have been talking of the right to take, not of the duty to give. I acknowledge the duty. I esteem the blessedness of being able to give ; esteem it too much to bear patiently the being robbed of it. I would be of my own free-will the dutiful servant of Humanity. I will not be its slave. Or am I dull, brutish, selfish, caring only to have, to be a "rich man," not anxious to give my substance to those who need ? Then educate me ; enlighten me ; better me by precept and example ; if I mend not, point at me as a monster : but dare not to cross my threshold, to touch the veriest trifle that I have honourably earned or obtained, to profane my household gods, to violate my individual right, which stands sovereignly, however savagely defying the world.

Property is that which is a man's own, what he may properly own, that which is justly his—his work, or his work's worth or purchase, or a free gift from another, whose it fairly was.

Work is the doing of worth—something of value made, created, or produced, or help toward that. Stealing is not work. Swindling is a shabbier sort of stealing. Over-reaching is swindling.

Since property is definable as the sign and fruit of work, clearly that which is not the sign and fruit of work is not property. A pedlar takes eyeless needles to a tribe of ignorant savages and "sells them," bartering his needles for things of worth. He produces the worth, but not fairly. The things of worth are not fairly his. They are not legitimate property. He has stolen them. The profit of a swindling trade is not property. Is it not *swindling* when a young child is taken in at a factory, and re-

ceives—in exchange for childhood's beauty, youth's hope, manhood's glorious strength, and the calm sunset of a well-aged life—some paltry shillings a week? Nay, we will not wrong you, trader! That is not all you give him. You also give him ignorance and vice, and suffering, and emaciation, a crippled beggarly life and a miserable death, in exchange for the health and joy of which God had made him capable. Why, man! selling eyeless needles to savages is Christian honesty compared with that. And one cannot but repeat that we dare not so abuse language as to call the profit of a swindling trade your property. It is stolen. A thief is not a proprietor. The word cannot be synonymous. Where is the title-deed showing work done and value created? *Work done?* The paving of your palace-floors with children's faces. The whole army of sweaters—and some who think themselves honester—have no right to a penny-worth of their dishonest gains. If the State should confiscate their fortunes and distribute them among distressed needle-women and the like, I, for my part, should think no wrong done, but be thankful for so much retributive justice. When the usurer (we call him capitalist now) takes advantage of his fellow's need to over-reach the common ground of human brotherhood upon which they originally stood, and to steal a profit out of that need—this is not work, or *worth-doing*, toil he never so toilsomely. His profit is not his property. Or when a "landlord" claims possession of God's earth—I do not say of certain produce, but absolute possession of the land itself—because his ancestor of by-gone times stole that land, or because he bought it of some degenerate thief, well-knowing it to be stolen—can we allow that to be property, properly his? God's earth and ocean, God's mountains, plains, sea and rivers, are not property—no more than His sky. They are His work, not man's. Let the fisherman make a property of the fish he catches. "Why? he does not create them." Yet he does in some sense produce them. Their worth to man is nothing in the sea. It is their being caught, which is the result of his work, that gives them value. The possession of them is the sign of that work. Let the husbandman till the ground and what he produces shall be his. That produce is

the fruit of his toil. But the earth is not his. Would I "parcel the land out among all the dwellers upon earth?" No, certainly. For the fisher cares not for his proportion;—neither does the merchant who brings goods from the far land, giving honest toil in their bringing, and justly possessing them as the sign and fruit thereof. Let who will occupy the land, but recollect that the merchants' share is there also. It is a common property which cannot be parcelled out: because every minute a new co-inheritor is born, and every birth would necessitate a new division. But I see no reason, therefore, why any should not hold any amount of land (only limited by the needs of others) in undisturbed and perpetual tenure, paying to the State a rent for the same. What has the State to do with appointing to each landholder his limits, or assigning to him his locality? Here again would be an interference with individual right. It might give me my acres in the plain, and my brother his upon the mountain side; and he loves the level ground, while to me flood and fell are dear, and I dislike the monotony of the plain. Or why should the State refuse land to individuals, and compel it to be held in common? All these things may best adjust themselves: the business of Government not being to intermeddle with individual right, but to have that respected, and to maintain order, caring that none encroach upon the right of others, and that all are organised harmoniously together. The one is for the prevention of evil, the other the preparation for good; the one involves the question of property and credit, the other the question of education.

Of property we have already spoken. The duty of Government here may be thus summed up. It has to see that every one holds inviolate his right to enjoy or to bestow the fruits of his own honest labour; and also that none shall, by endeavouring to appropriate common property, prevent another from producing to the utmost of his capacity. Its business is to care that common property shall never be appropriated by individuals, nor private property be meddled with by any.

The questions of credit and education are the necessary concomitants of this.

Credit.

The duty of Society to furnish the element of material work by credit, of intellectual and moral work by education—

The right to one's share, or one's share's worth, in the common heritage—the land, and the right to the produce of one's own honest toil: if the State guarantees these, it is enough. For what do these rights imply?

The worth of one's share in the land is not an exact numerical proportion of all that is done in or on that land, nor yet a certain sum of money or amount of material wealth apportioned to each in exchange for giving up the land; but simply one's share in the rental of the land, which, accruing to the State treasury, is a fund for common assurance, and for the use of all the members of the State.

For the inviolability of work, the sacredness of it and of property as its fruit, means something more than that we shall have all we can earn under our present take-who-can system, the system of free trade in men and other commodities. The inviolability of work implies that there shall be no artificial hindrances in the way of work. The right to the produce of our honest toil is a mere cheat, if that toil by any tyranny, constitutional enactment, or subterfuge, can be hindered from producing to the utmost of its natural ability, aided by the interest of the common heritage—the rental of the land. Such a hindrance is the present tyranny of capital.

Say you give a man free access to the land. What use is that when he has no money for implements, stock, manure, or seed? when he has no means of living even to the first harvest? To throw the whole land open, giving to each man, himself and family, their proportion of measured value, what use would that be to the millions whose existence depends upon their having wages next Saturday night? They could sell it perhaps. Yes, for whatever the capitalist might choose to give them for it, when he had kept off the purchase till the sellers should be at

starvation point. Something more is evidently wanted to make the land available.

Or say that the State guarantees to every man the produce of his honest toil. Well, it does that now, if that means only such produce as the capitalist, who rules the market, will allow him to have. No mere enactment of that sort could benefit the wage slave. But he shall have his share of all he earns, says such a law. Shall he not also be free to sell that share? To give the factory slave his share of what he has earned—so many bales of cotton—what would it avail him? Could he take it into the market? Or, rather, could he afford to warehouse it when the market is glutted and none will buy? He must sell it; for Saturday night sees him starving. And so his master will have it at the present price—a wage.

Besides there is good in the division of employments, and only loss of time to accrue from every man being producer and seller.

The inviolability of work implies free access at all times to the means of work. For this purpose the State must be the capitalist, the banker, the money-lender.

Look at things as they are. A poor man is out of work. Illness has come upon him, or his trade is slack. He must needs lie by. His little savings (if he has any) are exhausted. He sells his clothes, his furniture, all he can spare, no, not spare, but realise anything upon. At last he sells his tools. He recovers; trade is brisk again. He could find work readily enough, but he has no tools. How fares he now? While useless private charity helps him to new tools, he may starve, he and his. The case is common. So much "Society" does now for its able members.

So many hundred weavers are thrown out of employ by a new invention. They are unfit for other work. They have no means of living while they might learn another craft. They may starve. Nay, not that; Government gives them a poor-house, and grudgingly keeps "life" in their bodies, caring neither for their well-being, nor for any interest the State has in them.

They are simply so much refuse of the capitalist, which the State insists shall be carted away with some show of decency.

Every year in this free Britain how many thousand men wander about our streets and lanes, wishing for work and finding none, haggardly wasting, starving, because no private speculator cares to employ them ; starving idly, worthlessly (not even turned to account as manure), not because they will not work, nor because food is scanty, or work not wanting doing, but because under our present system there is no getting work to do, unless it subserves the pleasure or profit of certain monied individuals ; because the State does not protect the sacred right of every human being to work and to enjoy the fruit thereof.

The rental of the land is the proper capital of the whole nation. Why should I go to a pawnbroker, a usurer, when my own money lies in the Treasury ? Why should I starve, lacking means while I learn a new trade, my own failing, when my own is in the Treasury ? Why should so many thousands of us, so well disposed to work, be idle, famished and unprofitable, while our money lies in the Treasury, with the use of which we would reclaim waste lands ? There are millions of acres at this present lying uncultivated but reclaimable, as the political economist knows : better cultivate lands even now reclaimed, and build houses for the homeless, and improve the hovels where human creatures now lie waiting for the plague, and weave clothes for the naked, and feed the hungry, and educate the ignorant !

Good God ! what work awaits the doing, and our capital every day pours into the public Treasury, and there lies (unless, indeed, thieves take it thence), and we may not help either ourselves or the helpless, unless we can get our tools from the pawnbroker, and leave to be made tools of from some private speculator.

It is one business of Government (not the ruffianism or rascality of parties, which is not Government) to be the nation's banker, to furnish each individual with the material means, the capital for work, at all times and under all circumstances ; else one's right to property as the fruit of one's work is a mere mockery.

As the just appropriation of the land would sweep away all those useless middlemen called landlords (not cultivators of land), so a sound system of national credit—a mutual assurance

of the nation—would rid us of all those mischievous middlemen called capitalists, who stand now between the work and the worker (no matter whether the worker be a captain of industry who has not always capital, or only its honest soldier), not helping but hindering the one, and so ever robbing, and that but often murdering the other.

Through what special provisions, or under what guarantees, Government should exercise this function of supplying capital, is a matter not to be prescribed by any theorist (though the researches of such may indicate the method); it can be determined only by the nation, whensoever it may please the people to constitute themselves a nation, and to appoint their Government.

Education.

The land is the common inheritance of man; but he has yet another heritage—his share in the result of all experience, research, and achievement, since the beginning of humanity.

And, as it is the business of Government to secure to him those means of material improvement, which are the interest or rent of his property in the land, so it is the business of the Government to secure to him those means of intellectual and moral improvement which constitute his share in the common, intellectual, and moral stock.

Capital, or credit, supplies him with the material element, education with the moral and intellectual. It would be worse than mockery to give him only the first.

Education is the business of Government, because only Government can be intrusted with it, and because only Government can effectually manage it.

And first, what is this education to which every human being is equally entitled? It is the culture of the whole nature, the development of its full powers of growth—the perfecting of the *physical*—the due training of the moral and intellectual, and the

fitting both heart and intellect to embrace the highest aspiration and completest knowledge of the time, so far as natural organisation will permit ; the purport of such culture being the raising of strong and excellent human beings to do the work of humanity. Education is, indeed, the present endowing the future with all its wealth and power, that the future may start from that vantage ground to reach the farther heights of progress.

To whom shall this be intrusted except to the nation's rulers, to those whom the nation has chosen as its wisest and most virtuous ? Upon them, the head and heart of the present time (we are speaking of the good time which shall be present, not of our own little day of the expediciencies of Party Politicians)—upon them it devolves to rule the present, so as may best provide for the future. It is theirs to utter the nation's faith, to teach that faith to the young generation, which shall in its turn become the nation. Whom would you choose for this work ? Whom, instead of these your voices have already declared to be your best and wisest ?

How shall they lead the nation, if its youth are exempted from their control ? Shall they be your rulers and yet not rule your children ? Your children ! But, indeed, they are not yours, if that *your* is to mean property.

You have no property in your children. They are the nation's in trust for God and the future.

But what then becomes—I hear some one ask—what becomes of individual liberty if our children are to be placed in the hands of a Government, of any, even the best Government ?

Whose individual liberty ? Yours, or your child's ? What right have you to possess a human soul ? to make it yours, to twist it to your bent, to cast it in your mould ?

The soul of the little child is your equal—has its own independent rights, and demands its own growth—not a growth of your dictation. What right have you to confiscate that soul to your uses, to sacrifice it upon the private altar of your particular opinions ? Has not every man, then, the right of teaching what he believes ? Is it not his duty to propagandise his own idea of

truth? Truly so among his equals, but not to take an unfair advantage, which is tyrannising. Between you and the weak and easily impressible child rightly steps the protection of the State, guaranteeing to that child that he shall not be stinted to the narrow paternal pasture; but that he shall be enabled to become, not merely a pride and pleasure to his father, but worthy of his nation. It is that which he has to serve.

Besides, shall the poorest-souled individual be free to inculcate his private crotchet, and the nation's best and wisest be prohibited from teaching that which is the generally acknowledged truth of their time, the actual religion of humanity? It may happen that the father is in advance of his time, but who shall guarantee this? Must every child take his chance?

It may happen that the father's tenets are far behind his time; shall we, in virtue of our profession of equality, liberty, fraternity, after abolishing the slavery of the body, allow the soul of the child to be enslaved, simply because the enslaver is the parent; or deny the child's liberty of growth because a parent would have the training of him; and rob the future of its worker, its soldier, and its priest, because some one called a parent claims the child as his, rather than God's?

If a Government, the elect of the nation, the real priesthood of the people, their wiser voice, then, indeed, the voice of God for the people is the sole interpreter of his law—if a Government have a faith to teach, what individual out of the mass shall step between them and the child to forbid their uttering that faith in the child's ears? If the Government is imbecile or so buried in dirty traffic that it has no faith, then let all true men combine, or, failing combination, let every brave man for himself do his utmost to keep his children from being contaminated by the abominable doctrines which alone such a misgovernment could teach. But if it is your own chosen Government and has a faith—where is the room for this very English jealousy of a compulsory State education?

And religious education also? Education is religious. Meaning by religion that which binds humanity to God: that which

links the ages together, making of every generation one strong and perfect link, wielded into one by faith in the necessity of harmonising men's lives, man's life, with the Eternal, and by the organisation which such faith would insure to a nation.

This is religion, the teaching of which is the highest duty, function, and object of Government. Sectarian dogmas and ceremonies are not included here. It may be left to voluntary zeal to determine with what verbal forms, with what gestures, or upon what particular occasions, such and such a congregation shall sing or pray together. That is a matter of individual liberty, with which, so long as public decency remains unoffended, or private right unassailed—the State has no business to meddle.

The ceremonial observances of some few hours in a week may be left to the conscience of the sect, or of the individual; but the religion which is to actuate the daily life of the whole people is the proper affair of Government, if Government is to be real.

There is no middle course between this organisation of human life and the anarchy of our present system, an anarchy which is called liberty, but which is only the unrestrained tyranny of the stronger. How this sort of license results, private vice and selfishness, national crime, and weakness, and degradation, and ruin, may only too soon inform us.

After all it is not individual liberty—the right of conscience of speech—for which men need have fear when entrusting the education of the nation's youth to those whom the nation shall have chosen as its Government. Teach as zealously and as carefully as you will in your State schools—the fear will still be, not of the Government teacher overlaying the parental doctrine, but of the parent, if so disposed, by daily opposition or perversion, eradicating the lessons of the public school.

In all cases too (as a necessary consequence of the law of progress), however excellent your arrangements, there will be a minority to complain and perhaps to suffer. The minority here will be those very few wiser than their time, who could teach their children even better than the collective wisdom of their nation. But of how much would these have to complain? Free out of

school hours to teach their children, if they had but to add the higher knowledge, their task would be easy, neither would time nor opportunity be wanting if haply they had somewhat to correct. They have their voice, too, in the councils of the nation, to make their greater wisdom heard—with it to convince even the school-masters, if its sound may be of sufficient potency.

Rule of the Majority—Mutual Sacredness of the Individual and Society.

The interpretation of the moral law and rule of progress cannot be confided to a caste or an individual; but only to the people, enlightened by national education, directed by those among them whom virtue and genius point out to them as their best.

The sacredness of both individuality and society, which ought not to be effaced, nor to combat, but to harmonise together for the amelioration of all by all—

The whole question of politics is an educational question. Government, if it has any meaning, is the organised power which educates, rules, orders. We believe that this educational power cannot be intrusted to a caste, whether an aristocracy, a corporation, or a priesthood. It matters not what numbers compose the caste, whether few or many; it matters not whether there be careful patriarchal training, or the constitutional carelessness of those "governors" who are content with being a corrupt and inefficient police. Many or few, careful or careless, the difference is one only of degree. If a caste rules, you can have but tyrants on one side and slaves upon the other. There can be no real education there, no certain progress, for there is not the people. The instinct of the whole people is alone the conscience of humanity: it alone can be trusted to interpret the law of progress.

Still less can the government be intrusted to an individual. He will teach, or order, in accordance with his own wish,

at best his conscientious thought: he cannot give expression to the universal conscience. To confide the rule to the hands of one is to let the exception give law. Though even the true prophet be king and ruler, you are not certain of the right ordering, for he sees the progress which is desirable, which, indeed, shall some day be, but not always that which is practicable immediately. And when you have no prophet, but some imbecile slip of the past, whose eyes are in the back of his head—what law of progress can you have uttered by such? Truly not even an attempt at utterance.

The people must decide upon its own life. The majority must command. There, and there alone, dwells the true interpretation of God's law of progress; the decision of not merely that which is best to be done, but of that which may best be done at each succeeding moment.

Let it not be objected that the wisest are ever in the minority. If wisdom cannot make itself manifest to the majority, whose is the fault? Something is surely lacking in the wisdom. The wisest are those who can best regulate to-day's work, not forgetting the future.

And the conscience of a whole people is never at fault. There have been panics and madresses of multitudes, popular crimes and errors: but never a whole people, even in the lowest state of a people, unitedly wrong upon any great matter.

Religious and other wars, massacres, and persecutions, these are royal, aristocratic, and sacerdotal work. Villainies innumerable rest upon the castes who have misgoverned nations: but the people's hands are clean. When kings and priests provoked and carried on that desolating war against the Hussites, the popular conscience upheld the right. And in the wildest periods of the French Revolution the people's judgment was sound and just. Never has it swerved unless seduced by priests or tyrants, and ofttimes even then it has indignantly turned upon and rebuked its infamous leader.

The lowest classes are better than the privileged now; and how unspeakably better still will be the people, when, instead of being

ill-taught or left in ignorance by despicable or detested pretenders, they shall be educated by those whom they can revere and honestly and lovingly obey; those whom genius and virtue have pointed out to them as their best.

But we believe that there are limits to the power of even the government of a majority: the limits of *individual right*.

The majority may not enslave the minority, either by disposing of their bodies or coercing their consciences, in violation of the original equality of human brotherhood.

Every attempt upon the rights of individuals, by the most overwhelming majority, is an attempt against the very hand of society, which exists in virtue of the mutual sacredness of it, and of each of its members. If the free growth of any is suppressed there is a hindrance of the progress of the whole, the progress whose seed must ever be first planted in the hearts of the few. Government is the enlightened conscience of to-day, organising and directing present means for to-day's work.

But the few of to-day may so manifest their growth and superiority that to-morrow the many shall be with them, and to-morrow's higher work need a new direction.

When such a Government can be obtained, that is to say, when the Government (I do not say merely a part of it) shall be chosen by the whole people, there need not be occasion to trammel its progress in the clogs which now hang at the heels (better sometimes if they were round the necks) of their governors in what are pleasantly called Constitutional States. There need be no jealousy of those who are chosen by an educated people. It will not then be necessary that the general progress should be stayed for fear a too powerful Government should encroach upon individual liberties. It will then be seen that society is as sacred as *individuality*, needs as much protection: that it is not enough to make every man's house his "castle" (your private castles do not keep out the burglar, or the unjust tax collector, or the extortioner), but to make every man a true soldier, servant, and office-bearer in the nation; which will then need no private castles. This mutual sacredness of the individual and society will then

become possible ; then when the people are all free and equal, and when their own chosen governors marshal them on the way of progress, not by nice balancing of interests, nor by dictation of the minutest matters of life, not by endeavouring to stereotype their subjects, to make them run in parallel grooves of happiness or duty, but by obeying the dictates of the popular conscience, and helping the national genius to unfold itself ; careful not so much to dictate the work as to provide that the work be done by healthy, strong, and faithful men, conscious of their mission and anxious that it should be fulfilled,—the nation itself will decide upon the work to do, and be it peace or war, will know how to decide rightly.

Individual Duty.

The duty of the individual to make use of the elements of material ; intellectual and moral work, with the utmost concurrence of his faculties—

The ground upon which I have advocated the duties of a State towards its members, in supplying them with the means of growth and work, has been that of the necessity of organisation, in order to insure the more regular and rapid and certain progression of the whole of humanity.

The duty of a State towards its members implies of necessity corresponding duties of the members toward the State. If the State supplies means of work, secures property and growth, those so furnished and secured are bound to maintain the same advantages for others. Parts of the body politic, accepting the advantage of belonging to it, their duty is manifestly to maintain its integrity. Indeed, their own position is untenable unless they do so. For the State only exists as a combination. If all work for one, that one owes a return to all. But again, I say that it is not upon this mere footing of a bargain, which might imply choice, that we must place the duty of the individual ; but upon the moral basis of his position as a part of one comprehensive whole, a position which is not a matter of choice, but necessitated by the very fact

of his birth, and from which he can never be released except by death.

It cannot be too often repeated that the individual is a part of humanity, an inseparable link of the one vast chain hanging from the throne of God.

Man has not the choice of being his brother's keeper or not. He cannot dissolve the brotherhood. He has not the option of bargaining so much duty for interest. He has by his very birth appropriated the interest, and he owes the duty of his life in repayment of that, unless he would be a thief.

The past has lent to the present, and the future demands payment. A feather out of a wing, a bone out of a body, a leaf out of a book—is not more absurdly isolated than a human soul that would detach itself from the upward soaring of its race, a man denying his duty to the body politic, or a life which fancies that its thought, or speech, or action, can be torn unnoticed and without detrimental consequence from the history of mankind.

We believe, therefore, that it is ever the duty of the individual to devote the utmost energies of his being to the service of his race, to the beloved first (though whoever loves needs no such reminding); to the children next: then to his immediate fellows in the workshop, or the farm, in the hamlet, municipality, or commune; then, the circles of duty widening ever as—like a drop of rain flung into still water—his active life impels the waves of circumstance around him, to the city or county, his country and the world. For the business of man's life is service to his kind. Service even now, when, wanting organisation, each must mark out for himself the route upon which his unaided thought decides that he can best serve; service still, when society, becoming organised, shall learn how to economise his powers, to prevent his efforts from being wasted; as so much of endeavour is wasted through want of direction now, from being left to fight and to labour alone, or with but the chance and random help of the casual passers-by.

God's Law.

A social State having God and His law at the summit, the people, the universality of the citizens free and equal at its base, progress for rule, association as means, devotion for baptism, genius and virtue for lights upon the way—

God's law : it is not the doctrine of an individual or a sect ; it is not the dogma of a church (even of the truest), nor the act of a Parliament (be it never so equally constituted).

Though doctrine, dogma and act may each be less or more an enunciation of God's law, it is the revelation which enlightens the prophets and apostles of humanity, the instinct which impels the universal conscience of mankind.

Wherever the revelation and the instinct, wherever genius and universality, wherever the voice of God and the voice of the people are in unison—there, be sure, is a law of God.

God's law : God's holiest preachers and martyrs have proclaimed it with their words and with their lives ; and the heart of man in all climes and in all ages has recognised its divinity, its truth. It is this :

Grow healthily ! Love ! Aspire ! Progress !

Grow healthily ! It is the first necessity of being. That was a true insight which shut out the blemished or unclean from the service of the priesthood. How shall any be God's priest in his impurity or weakness ? Be pure for health's sake. Be strong for the sake of growth. Grow healthily, which is naturally, vigorously, and beautifully : that so thy nature may be perfected, and thy life be a fit and acceptable worshipper in this temple of the eternal, which men call earth ; worthily serving at the altar whatever name may be inscribed thereon, whether family, country, or man.

Love ! It is the stepping beyond the narrow prison house, the chrysalis tomb of "self." Capacity for love constitutes the difference between the gentle and the churl, the human and the brute. The brute desires, seeks, and has possession, asserting the right of

his limited nature, the right of health and growth, but he cannot soar out of the bestial self. He cannot love.

Live not like brute beasts—without understanding—when God has breathed into your nostrils the angelic faculty of life. Love the mother upon whose rounded bosom you first dreamed of beauty and of heaven. Love the father, who taught you to be strong and daring. Love her who led you into the innermost sanctuary of delight, whose maiden smile first whispered to your enraptured soul how chaste and holy and self-sacrificing love may be. Love her children, the children of the beautiful, whom also thou wilt teach how to love. Love thy country, the land of thy young days of home, the land whose speech is the music of the beloved; the land where rest the bones of heroes, thy sires: love it with the active love of a patriot's ever-anxious service! Love not only persons, places or things, but love the beautiful, the noble, the enduring. Love the memory of those great ones who have lived and suffered for thee. For love is gratitude, the full-handed gratitude that returns one benefit by benefiting a thousand. Love and scorn not those new ideas which are continually dawning upon the world. For love is reverence. It was love that worshipped at the poor man's feet—wiping them with her hair, and kissing them. Love believeth.

Aspire! Indeed, love is aspiration: the longing search after the most beautiful. Ever as thou reachest the summit of a truth, look upward to the truth beyond. Ever on the ladder of improvement which leans on the edge of heaven; as thou gainest round after round look upward, and when thou pilest another day of worth upon thy past life, rest not as one whose mission is accomplished, but know and recollect that man's mission is to aspire.

Progress! Yes! Believe that the healthily grown, the loved, the aspirer, must progress. Up and down the mountain-climber advances toward the top. Let him not in the mountain hollows look back complaining "How much higher I was!" He but descends to mount again. It is no level path nor smooth unvarying ascent, the way of progress. But we believe in the possibility of a social state in which the ascent, though not altogether evened, shall yet be smoothed of its worst roughness, when the whole race shall be

fellow-workers, aiding each other in their advance. We believe that it shall not always be left to individuals to toil painfully up the steep and narrow path in sadly isolated endeavour to fulfil God's law; but that when nations are free, their Governments shall be able to provide the educational means through which mankind shall be aided in their combined endeavours to grow healthily, to love, to aspire, and to progress; when progress shall be recognised as the normal condition of life; when organised association shall supply the requisite means, when individuals, baptised in the faith of devotion to God and humanity, shall know how best to avail themselves of those means, and when genius and virtue borne upon the shoulders of the advancing crowd—as of old they chose their generals—shall light us upon our way; when the whole earth shall be an holy altar, and human life as the flame of a sacrifice continually ascending to the heaven of God.

Nations.

And that which we believe to be true for a single person we believe to be true for all. There is but one sun in heaven for the whole earth; there is but one law of truth and justice for all who people it. Inasmuch as we believe in liberty, equality, fraternity, and association for individuals composing the State, we believe also in the liberty, equality, fraternity, and association of nations.

We believe that the map and organisation of Europe are to be remade. We believe, in a word, in a general organisation, having God and His law at the summit, humanity, the universality of nations free and equal at its base, common progress for end, alliance for means, the example of those peoples who are most loving and most devoted for encouragement on the way—

We do not believe that men can righteously band together to commit wrong, nor that by any combination or assembling of numbers, they can escape from the individual responsibility of their moral being.

We believe that wrong is wrong, whether perpetrated by individuals or by nations, that right does not alter its character whether its pursuer be one or a multitude.

A nation is an assemblage and combination of individuals, each of whom is endowed with conscience, each of whom is bound by his very nature to combat evil, each of whom is impelled by the divine law of his being to seek good and to maintain the right. Their very assembling and combination as a body is that they more effectually combat evil, seek good, and maintain and perpetuate the right.

To grow healthily, to love, to aspire, and to progress—this is as much the destiny of nations as of the individuals of which nations are composed.

If equal liberty is the right of each member of the nation in relation to his fellows, not only in the nation but throughout the whole world, so is it the right of the collective body—the nation—in relation to all other nations.

If one nation may be shut out of the pale of national liberty, what becomes of the universal equality and liberty of mankind?

If it is the duty of man in his nation to serve humanity, it is equally the duty of the nation as an organisation of men to serve humanity; else the individual serves not humanity but some national egotism.

Peoples are the individuals of humanity. As men differ from one another in character, aptitude, or calling, so also do peoples. Their national organisation is the means not only of perfecting that special character, but of applying the various aptitude and calling toward one great object—the progress of the whole of life.

England, if an organisation of healthy, high-thoughted men, would recognise itself as the world's servant, would toil for that—not for the wretched aggrandisement of England against the world, or without care for the world.

England, now stealing in every corner of the earth for the most wretched aggrandisement of self, would then be no more hated or despised as a bullying ruffian or an unprincipled eyeless-needle-selling pedlar, but loved and honoured as the brave champion of

freedom and ablest civiliser of the time. But what would become then of the miserable doctrine of *non-intervention*, the refuge or pretence of whig knaves, the shallow subterfuge of traders who care nothing if the whole world go to wreck so they may have a percentage on the breaking up?

The mission of a nation is the same as that of an individual: to assert its own rights and to fulfil its duty toward others. The duty consists in associating with others for the maintenance of their rights, for the sake of mutual growth, for the realisation of the brotherhood of humanity.

How very wicked! says some atheistical peacemonger. And you would actually have nations go to war in defence of other nations? Yes, certainly, if right should demand it. For we believe in God, in His law of association and progress, in the harmony of the universe: that is to say, we believe that, as an individual cannot detach himself from his kind without breaking the chain of human life, so a nation cannot as one man isolate itself from the world without causing a million-fold greater gap. I call the peacemonger atheistical because his amiable egotism loses sight of this, forgets God and His scheme; because his theory (I do not meddle with his undeniable good intentions which so pleasantly pave the hill-path of the worst despotisms, but only with his theory) would make life anarchical. Every man for himself and no God for us all. For what is human brotherhood? Seeing one's brother quietly murdered, unless the stone-deaf assassin will listen to our eloquence! Standing out of the way to see our brother wronged! English law of all periods and English sense of same would call this being an accomplice in the wrong. I see a wrong being committed, I have the power of preventing it—I do not prevent it. Whatever sympathetic cant may froth my lips, my deed consents to the wrong—I am the accomplice. The wrong-doer's accomplice, is not he wrong-doer also?

When history shall gibbet Assassin Barrot for his ruffianly outrage upon Rome, she will hang beneath him his dastardly accomplices—the English Whigs and their liberal supporters.

Non-intervention between States is the same as *Laissez-faire*

between individuals; the liberty of the strongest, the right of ruffianism anarchy.

Republicanism is opposed to anarchy. We would organise. Let the nation as the individual be the true servant and soldier (if need be) of God upon the earth, serving or fighting as the case may be for God's children—his brethren—under the leadership of Justice, who does not fear lest the heavens should fall upon the shop while she is out on duty. Oh, again for a real Government of England, echoing the people's heart, to hurl its armed hand in the teeth of the least tyranny, and by at least one manful act for God and His right to redeem the national honour, now ever pawned by tyranny's infamous subvener for any petty private object of their own. Promise-breaker, "traitor," "coward."

Why should a nation endure taunts which would rouse a slave? Win we our Republican Government, and our name may be redeemed: then only. When a healthy nation shall take its place among the struggling peoples, as a brother among his equals, lovingly to aid them in their aspirations and in their progress, weighing peace (oh, ever desired peace) and war, not in the false scales of diplomatic intrigue or personal baseness, but in the eternal balance of right and wrong. Loving peace, the Republic will not, like some shabby monarchy, flinch from war when it sees a brother nation attacked in the first of all rights—the right of an independent individuality.

The escaping slave shall not be hunted back to slavery, nor even given up to the hunters, by the true Republican. Jealously as he would guard his own individuality—which even himself cannot alienate, or make the slave of another, so will he defend the liberty of even the least of his brethren.

Peoples are the individuals of humanity—nationality is the sign of their individuality and the guarantee of their liberty: it is sacred. Indicated at once by tradition, by language, by a determined aptitude, by a special mission to fulfil, it ought to be held sacred, in order that it may be free to harmonise itself with the whole, and to assume its proper functions for the amelioration of *all for the progress of humanity.*

Apply these principles to the present partitioning of Europe, and it will be clear why the Republican believes in the necessity of remaking the map and organisation of Europe, to bring them into accordance with his faith.

Poland parted among thieves, Italy, Hungary, Germany, Greece : there is no need to enumerate. Draw these upon the Republican map, and where will be the present land marks? Where the existing Empires? The present arrangement of Europe has been made for the benefit of a few families, in violation of the most decisive marks of nationality, in order to facilitate the spoliation of the peoples.

All that arrangement of Vienna shall be torn to pieces by the Republican nations, and their natural boundaries, recognised at an European Congress, be henceforth assured. We believe that a pact, a congress of the representatives of all nationalities constituted and recognised, having for mission to serry the holy alliance of peoples and to formalize the common right and duty, are at the end of all our efforts.

So shall the free nations, standing each in its own perfect dignity—be as a band of brothers—sworn to serve God and to extirpate tyranny from the world.

Summary.

We believe in equality, liberty and fraternity; in the equal ground of human right, on which alone true freedom can be based—the freedom which is not the unlimited sway of the stronger, but the opportunity of healthy growth to the utmost of natural capability, for the weakest as well as for the mightiest, in order that the fullest perfection of each may be obtained toward a brotherly combination of strengths, for the surer and greater progress of the whole world.

We believe in the perfectibility of the *human race*; that is to say—in its powers of continual improvement. And we believe that this improvement may be systematized and insured and immensely accelerated by men acting in concert—in association—

freely organising themselves under the Government of the wisest and most virtuous among them.

We believe that Government, however chosen, or however worthy of rule, is not required by society to be the dictator over the lives of individuals—as a central despotism would be, but to order the combined action of the whole nation and to protect the rights of all. We believe that the world-old circles of FAMILY, CITY and COUNTRY, are natural arrangements and worth preserving; that as the individual is complete in his own nature, so the family is also a perfect sphere—needing no ordering from authority; the city also sufficient to itself for all its own requirements; and the country the same, a special workroom, built by God for a special purpose, whose walls shall not be thrown down. We believe that the business of Government is to do that which neither the individual nor the city can efficiently do; to maintain throughout the nation the harmony of equal rights, which includes provision that the best means of growth at the nation's command shall be furnished to all the individuals of the nation. It is therefore the province of Government to guard the land, which is common property, from the encroachment of individuals; to take care that none hold it without paying a fair rent for it to the State, and that it shall never be so monopolized, at whatever rent, that any shall be debarred from it; to protect private property, the honest earnings and acquirements of individuals; to maintain the right to labour by lending the credit of the State to all who need it, so insuring to every one employment at a fair remuneration, and to provide the highest possible education for every one of the nation's children.

We believe that the only Government which can safely be trusted in these powers is the elect of the nation empowered by the majority to act for them. We believe that the right to rule resides only in a majority: their rule being only limited by the right of the individual.

The most overwhelming majority may not override the right of an independent nature. Society and individuality are mutually sacred and inviolable.

Nevertheless we believe in individual duty, that every one

(saving his right of conscience) ought to enrol himself dutifully in the ranks of his fellowmen, to act obediently within the appointed and ascending spheres of organisation, to devote the utmost of his powers to the service of his family, his country, the world, and truth.

And we believe that, based upon a written constitution recognising these rights and duties, the nation may be so organised that the long-sought problem of the harmonisation of individual welfare with national progress may be speedily solved; and the present anarchy give place to order, under which we shall henceforth be enabled to fulfil God's law, the destiny of life, to grow healthily, to love, to aspire and to progress.

We believe, in a word, in the possibility of a social state, based upon already ascertained rights and duties, in which might be forthwith commenced the realisation of the dream of all prophetic minds—the beginning of the better time, in which the wretchedness of extreme want might immediately cease, and strife and wrong gradually diminish, checked by the strong hand of enthroned justice and fading from the ever increasing light of education and of hope.

Such is the aim of our exertions for our own country. And for the nations we believe in a no less fervent hope; looking for the establishment of the universal federation of Republics, for the proclamation of God's law as the religion and rule of the enfranchised and organised world. May our own nation be of the first to swear fealty to the common pact among the worthiest of endeavourers to reach the goal—that goal which will be but the starting-place of the genius of humanity, toward the indefinite perfection of the future. Is all this Utopian? Not so. We do not undermine the present nor fling away the past. We would build upon the present, laying sure foundations. We ignore neither tradition nor history. We would preserve with more than "conservative zeal" all that has already been gained for humanity. We do not think of overthrowing all, expecting, after a general scramble, some fine day to begin the world anew. Neither are we Utopians of the "finality" school. We are practical men, who would work with

means lying around us toward an end logically deduced from ascertained promises, clear to the universal conscience. We take our stand upon the equal brotherhood of "*Freedom*," that ground which Christian Europe from one end of it to the other has already recognised, at least in words, and thereupon we would build our future.

"What sane man will contest our principles?" What slave, in his heart acknowledging their truth, will remain silent? I, at least, if none other will, must repeat in the ears of my countrymen the appeal of the apostles of democracy.

To all who share our faith; to all those who think that every divorce even for a time between thought and action is fatal; to all those who feel stirring within their hearts a holy indignation against the display of brute force, which is made in Europe in the service of tyranny and falsehood.

I appeal to the working men first, because among them, victimized but not yet vitiated by the selfishness of trade, I have found that clearness and integrity of soul, the simplicity of the loving nature, which enables them almost intuitively to comprehend great principles and courageously to devote their lives to their realisation. Students, artists, and men of letters, I appeal to; to those who pride themselves upon a generous education, who by their daily studies are introduced to a companionship with the illustrious of the great republic of genius, who have learned even from the lips of the wisest of all times those heavenward aspirings which should sanctify their lives as priests of truth, raising them above the commonness of mean and cowardly thoughts. Young men, who trust inspiration of hope, whose souls are pure, whose days are not yet bowed and crippled by the ignoble yoke of a huckstering egotism, whose hearts are not yet eaten out by commerce, who yet are able to believe and love and dare, to them also I appeal!

CHAPTER II.

REPUBLICAN MEASURES.

Revolutionary Measures. Institutional Measures. Administrative and Judicial Reforms. Financial Reforms. Colonial Reform. International Reform. Organisation—Organisation of Labour on the Land. Organisation of Labour through Credit. Organisation of Justice. Bases of Taxation. Education.

IN the previous chapter we have seen what are the Principles which underlie the superstructure of Republicanism, but I am aware that this is not all. To embrace the creed, to be able thoroughly to explain its every article, to be filled with such zeal and to be so wisely active that our preaching draws the whole nation to our side—this is not enough. It is necessary that the party to be formed should understand not only the theory of Republicanism, but how to put Republican principles into practice.

We must learn through what measures our faith may work, our hopes be consummated. We must aim not only at creating a power, but at endowing that power with intelligence. I would not be the creator of a political Frankenstein, a power, without educated will, a new form of anarchy, only misnamed Republican. Already it is said to us—Your theories are beautiful, but impracticable; long years must pass, and much preparation, before even fragments of them can be realised.

It is for us to demonstrate the practicability of Republicanism. The day will come also in which power shall be in our hands, when the men of our own party will ask, "How now to act?" To forestall this question I now endeavour to utter something like a Republican programme, a scheme of reform, such as I believe to be prac-

*licable from the very day of the establishment of the people's majority.

I put forth the programme, not dogmatically. The creed, indeed, which I have confessed I must hold unaltered. I do not ask my countrymen merely to consider to what portions of that they can assent, how far they will go with me there ; but I ask them to join me under that banner, and I ask none to join me unless they can accept the creed and its consequences without reserve. But beyond the principles there is no dogma. My exposition of those principles is open to correction ; it should be the first business, of those who join me, to reconsider and maturely weigh that exposition to detect any possible want of exactness in the deductions, and only to subscribe to it when fully convinced that its teachings are true and logically consequent on the confession of our faith. My plan of association and propagandism may be mended or modified or altered, according to circumstances. I did but, since some one must begin, suggest an outline for my brothers utterly without organisation.

So also the Republican measures, which I now attempt to enunciate, are but propositions for the consideration of those with whom I hope to act. I offer them as texts for their debating ; and when I come to discourse upon these texts I shall still be only uttering my undogmatic opinion of the business before us. Let all who call themselves Republicans, all who care to establish a real Republican party in England, labour earnestly with me to master both the theory and practice of our faith. Without further preface I submit the following measures of reformation as necessary for the Government of England as a Republic :—

Revolutionary Measures.

Abolition of Monarchy, the House of Lords, the Peerage, and all laws of primogeniture and entail.

Severance of the connection between the Church and the State.

Abolition of all restrictions upon the Press, direct or indirect.

Institutional Measures.

Establishment of the Republican form of Government: and of Universal Suffrage of men and women, exercised directly and absolutely in right of their existence as human beings and component parts of the nation.

Adoption of a written constitution based upon Republican principles, unalterable in its fundamental rules even by the majority of the nation.

Unity of power. One single representative Assembly, elected by the majority of the nation, enthroned as the nation's servants, to realise the programme of the Constitution, to work within those prescribed limits. Every project of law to be submitted to the whole people. The Executive chosen by the Assembly and subordinate to it.

Absolute freedom of opinion and the utterance of opinion, whether in the press, the pulpit, the public meeting, or the association.

Inviolability of the right of association, whether for political, religious, or social purposes. Abrogation of all laws against combination or partnership.

Recognition of the right to labour, with a special minister to superintend its realisation. Establishment of a system of credit for the assistance of the labourer, specially in times of difficulty. Access to the land to be facilitated.

Improved modes of transit and scientific appliances rendered available to the agriculturist and mechanic; agricultural associations and trades-unions encouraged; rewards for inventors and public benefactors, and abolition of all patent and copyright. Freedom of trade so far as not to contravene the rights of Labour. Establishment of public bazaars and storehouses.

Ample provision, at the cost of the State, for the infirm and aged.

National education, under the superintendence of the Government, for all the children of the nation, obligatory, and at the public expense. The noble function of teacher adequately rewarded and elevated to its due rank in the consideration of the people.

Establishment of colleges of art, science, and literature, free of charge and accessible to all classes of the nation.

Establishment of schools for teachers. Establishment of a general system of religious worship, based upon generally acknowledged truths, for the religious teaching of the nation.

Marriage and divorce free.

Administrative and Judicial Reforms.

Simplification of laws. The multitude of present laws to be repealed, and a new code framed, written in plain language.

Simplification of the machinery of law and justice. The public service to be democratically organised. Capacity the only condition of eligibility, every functionary to be utterly independent in all matters not appertaining to his office.

Justice prompt and without cost. Appointment of a public prosecutor; indemnification of the injured. Abolition of death-punishment, of imprisonment for debt, of flogging, and of transportation.

Revision of the articles of war. The Army, Navy, and Marine to be reorganised democratically: merit to be the only qualification for rank. Improvement in the treatment of the lower classes of the service. Abolition of the disgraceful system of flogging.

Formation of a national guard of all men capable of bearing arms: and great reduction of the standing army.

The care of the infirm and aged, the local organisations of labour, local arrangements and improvements, election of district magistrates, police and all other matters of local administration, to be under local control, subordinate to the sovereign authority of the nation.

Financial Reforms.

Simplification of taxation: one single direct tax for all national purposes, supplied by a rental charged on the whole land.

Abandonment of the present complicated system: assessed and

income taxes, customs, excise, tithes, church and poor rates, highway rates, tolls, and county rates (except for absolutely local purposes).

Appropriation by the State of crownlands, church lands, waste lands, streams, and mines : and of all roads, railways and canals, giving equitable compensation to the present holders.

Centralisation and regulation of banks for the benefit of the whole nation. Reform of the funding system and settlement of the National Debt.

Colonial Reform.

Self-government guaranteed to every colony : the Home-government only protecting the colony so long as it may require. The independence of every colony looked forward to and promoted.

International Reform.

Abandonment of the foul tricks of diplomacy and solemn denial of the false principle of non-intervention.

Foreign policy to be regulated by the principle of Republican duty, based on faith in the harmonisation of Humanity.

Respect to every nationality; brotherly alliance with the nations; and ready aid to the oppressed.

Let it be borne in mind that the programme I have here put forth is intended only as subject for Republican consideration. Not that I have uttered it unadvisedly. It is the summary (though perhaps incomplete) of my deliberate views, a collection of texts upon which I shall proceed to discourse at length in future numbers of the "English Republic." I give them as a whole, that the relation of each to the rest may be observable as we go on : and now, bespeaking the attention of my readers to the articles in explanation of this preliminary, I beg them to "read, mark, learn and inwardly digest" them, making them the occasion for debates in their meetings, whether in private or in public, that so, by

the elaboration of thought, our plans may become to us as clear as our principles; that when the day of our certain triumph shall arrive, we may be prepared to carry out our professions, to put our theories into practice, to justify our irreconcilable opposition to "things as they are."

My object is to create a Republican party which shall understand how to act, whether in opposition or in power: which, having ever before its eyes a clear ideal of good government, shall know what course to take with regard to the bit-by-bit reforms for which middle-men of as little foresight as principle bargain with Monarchy; what course to take when, Monarchy being no more, the quarrel shall come to an undisguised issue between the "moderate" Anarchists and the consistent Republicans. Let us study to be so enlightened that the national recognition of our principles may not be unnecessarily deferred, and that we may not be found deficient on the morrow of our victory.

The Organisation of Labour on the Land.

The sovereignty of the people is not consistent with individual misery. The first once established, not an hour should be lost without proceeding for the extinction of the last. For misery is slavery. This is why I place the Organisation of Labour first among the Republican Measures of which I have to treat. The first step toward that organisation is to provide for our surplus labourers, our unemployed population.

This I believe can only be done by giving them free access to the land. Any other "provision for the poor" is a mockery. I propose, therefore, now to consider of:—

The Land and how to Reclaim it.

It is said that the whole of England, Scotland, and of Ireland is monopolised by some 40,000 persons, who have acquired possession by purchase or inheritance from a race who held the land, not as absolute owners, but only as tenants of the State, under condition of paying rent or service to the State. That is to say—

the feudal landholder—not owner—bore the burthens of the nation as the price of his *lease* of the nation's land. It was his rent. And he was only a tenant.

In the course of time the landowners (being sole legislators) shifted the national burthens from their own shoulders, and voted themselves absolute proprietors.

The present holders, who have bought, or inherited of them, are precisely in the position of men who have bought or inherited stolen property. They hold their lands with a faulty title. Men who were only tenants have sold or given them the freehold; sold or given what never was theirs. And the buyers or receivers knew it.

But even if the nation (instead of a partial Parliament) had formally or tacitly sanctioned the absolute proprietorship of a few landlords, the title of these holders would not be good. For the land may not be alienated even by the nation. It is not the absolute property of any one generation, but is entailed for the benefit of all generations. The nation, then, must resume its proprietorship: not confiscating the estates, but compelling the observance of the tenant's original contract, in some such terms as the following:—

“Whereas the nation is the sole proprietor of the land and none hold rightfully except as tenants of the nation: and whereas every member of the nation has an equal right to support from the land upon which he was born:

“*Be it therefore enacted*:—(1.) That, in lieu of all taxes hitherto collected for national purposes, there shall be charged one uniform rental for every acre of cultivated or cultivatable land—in acknowledgment of the nation's sovereignty and to meet all national expenses.

“(2.) That the payment of such rental shall constitute the only legal title to the possession of the land.

“(3.) That such national expenses shall specially include the cost of a sufficient maintenance for the infirm and the unemployed.”

I consider such a measure as the necessary preliminary to any real organisation of labour.

The first step in that organisation is to provide for our unemployed labourers—what is called our “surplus population.”

There are thirty millions of acres of uncultivated land in the British Isles. Half of these millions of acres are cultivatable.

A large portion of these millions would fall into the hands of the State, so soon as the State began to enforce its rental. This is certain; because men would not pay for immense tracks of land which they could not use.

Upon the lands thus accruing to the State, and upon what are now called crown-lands, I would plant colonies of agricultural labourers, under officers appointed by Government, furnished with sufficient capital and empowered to farm the land on the following terms:—That after payment of the State rental, the salary of the superintendent, and such portion of the capital as might be ordered, the remaining proceeds of the land should be divided among the labourers.

The proportion of capital to be paid back, year by year, would vary with circumstances. The poorer the land, the longer should be the time allowed for payment. There should be no interest charged.

So soon as the capital should be paid back, the labourers would be the landowners—their own masters, subject to no supervision, to no burthen except the rental of their land.

They would form a new race of independent peasant freeholders. Thus I would provide for the “surplus” agricultural population; enabling them to support themselves upon the waste lands. I take this to be the first step in the organisation of labour.

But it will be found not only that this first step would provide for the unemployed agricultural population, but also that it would greatly diminish the numbers of the unemployed artizans, and radically alter the position of the employed labourers, whether field labourer or mechanic.

It would alter the position of the field-labourer thus:—At present the competition of numbers places him at the mercy of the farmer. He must be content with the lowest possible wage, or the punishment of the poor-house.

But the State-farmer, the superintendent of the agricultural colonies, at once placing the labourers in those colonies on the footing of partnership, laying accounts before them and giving them their just share of the produce of his and their united exertion, this would soon put a stop to the competition of members for mere wages.

The competition would now be for the State freeholds; and the private farmer, instead of beating down his labourers, would have to offer them, as an inducement to work for him, an equitable share of the proceeds of his and their united exertion.

The end, and no very distant end, and an end beneficial to all parties, would be that farms would be worked by friendly associations of those who are now in the false, antagonistic position of master and slave, but who would then form free and fair partnerships of *head and hands*, skill and manual labour.

This would be the natural effect of our first step—our home colonies of the unemployed—on the rest of the agricultural population.

It would also alter the position of the mechanic thus. At present it is the unemployed population of the rural districts which is driven or attracted into the towns, and there crowds the labour-market, reducing to the lowest fraction the wage of the mechanic. But with our home colonies, there would be no unemployed agricultural population. So much less would be the number of the unemployed mechanics. And so much of competition would be at an end; for none would choose to leave the soil unless the promise held out to them exceeded the certain advantage of their agricultural position.

By so far the condition of the mechanics would be improved. Still would remain the tyranny of capital and the fluctuations of trade, always affecting the mere wages-slaves, however limited their numbers. Agricultural colonies would be but an insufficient remedy here; the mechanic could not readily change from indoor to outdoor work; still less easily could he alternate between the two.

How the tyranny of capital and the uncertainty of trade may

be met and provided against I shall endeavour to show in considering the question of Credit.

The Organisation of Labour through Credit.

I would altogether abolish the monstrous relationship of master and servant—employer and employed, profitmonger and wages slave. I have attempted to show how that relationship may be abolished so far as concerns the agricultural population, by giving them free access to the land and supplying them with the capital required to maintain them till their labour can become self-supporting and profitable. How that capital should be supplied to them—how also it should be supplied to the population of our towns, to those whose avocations are not agricultural—I now propose to show.

Credit.

And first let me be understood with regard to the capitalists, who are now the veritable masters of all who live upon wages. Let it be that they cannot act otherwise than they do; that is precisely a reason for the interference of Government. Not certainly to compel them to lend their capital nor to prohibit their lending or employing it at any rate of interest they can obtain. But to lend where they will not or can not, and to prevent usury by lending without interest. For it is true that to compel a man against his will to lend, or say to risk his capital, would be an infringement of individual right, a kind of spoliation; nevertheless it is not tolerable that another man should be idle, and perhaps starve, simply because he cannot get the credit which would give him the means of work, and that not only he, but all society, should lose the value of his work. Let the capitalist hoard or employ his money as he will. Yet the poor man has a right to work and to the product of that work; society also has a right to the services of all its members. The right to property and the

duty to society ought not to depend upon the will of a few capitalists.

To remedy this the State must be the capitalist—the money-lender.

For this purpose a National Bank must be established with branch banks throughout the country, and let these banks lend money upon personal security to all within their several districts. A few cases will show how this would work. A man falls ill and is compelled to leave his employment. His little savings are exhausted. Now he has to pawn or sell his tools, his furniture and his clothes. Those means consumed, he comes upon the parish. So he passed from bad to worse. Should he recover, instead of immediately resuming work, he is idle because he has no tools, nor means of obtaining any. Instead of this, instead of applying either to the pawnbroker or the parish, let him apply to the district bank. Let the bank lend him without interest, week by week, such sums as he may require for the maintenance of his family, and for medicine, etc., receiving from him an acknowledgment for the same, and undertaking for its payment upon his recovery. If he dies, let the sums afforded be passed to the national account as casual relief; Society is bound to assure its members against sickness, infirmity, or accident. If he recovers, let him stand liable for the debt, the directors of the local bank fixing the period of payment according to the circumstances of the case.

If he refuses or evades payment, let him be punished as a criminal. His written acknowledgment of the advance would be proof of his liability, it would be for the bank to show that a reasonable time has been accorded him. A jury would decide: if against him, let him be imprisoned or placed under control till the debt should be worked out.

The case of a man thrown out of work by any fluctuation or decay of trade would be precisely similar to that of the man thrown out of work by illness. The local banks would lend him means of living till he could find other work—if necessary, till he could learn another kind of employment.

Failing all other work, there would be the Home Colonies on the land as a last resource. The farm labourer without work, unable to agree with the farmer, or preferring to work alone, might apply for so much land as he thought he could cultivate at the State rental, and to the bank for advances that he might live till harvest. If a master manufacturer failed, and so the workmen had no employment, the bank would either lend him capital to carry on his business, or would lend it to the men, provided they chose to continue the concern for their own benefit. The bank would also lend to associations of workmen, whether manufacturing or agricultural.

The consequence of this ready access to capital would be the independence of the workers. They would no longer be dependent upon the will of the monied classes, themselves at the mercy of every chance and change of trade. The rate of wages would be increased. They would rise from the mere minimum of subsistence guaranteed by our present Poor Law to the amount of what the worker could really earn with capital in his hands, deprived only of the skill and leadership of his employers ; the master would no longer be able to reduce wages by falling back upon his capital, and so starving the workers into submission. Such leadership and skill as he might possess would come fairly into the market and fetch their real worth.

This would really be Free Trade for all classes, and the result would speedily be the equal association of the captains and mere soldiers of industry on the terms of such division and apportionment of the proceeds of their mutual labour as could be agreed upon between them. The tyranny of capital would be at an end ; and fair and free partnerships of head and hand would replace the unequal and unjust relationship of employer and employed. I do not argue for the State establishing workshops or colonies except for its paupers. Beyond this, that is to say, beyond making the labour of the able-bodied paupers self-supporting, and so leading them to independence, it seems to me that the State should leave open every facility for individual enterprise ; only interfering to prevent the monopoly of capital from enslaving the workers. This

much the State is bound to do, for the protection of the individual's right to life, for the protection of the nation's right to the services of all its members. One step farther would, however, be necessary to assure the worker against the capitalist. It will not be enough to prevent the latter from reducing wages; we must also prevent him from monopolising and so arbitrarily raising the prices of produce. Else we merely destroy one mode of tyranny, and leave him still the weapon of profit with which to oppress his fellows. We require, therefore, the establishment of public storehouses and bazaars or markets to which the worker, mechanic, or peasant could at all times bring his produce—sure of a fair price—and at which he could at all times be sure of purchasing at a fair price. These storehouses and bazaars might be under the direction of the local banks. The price of every article might be regulated by the price of wheat, wheat of a certain quality represented always by one certain value. The difference between buying and selling would consist, not as now in the accumulation of the profits of several dealers, but in one single charge for the expenses of warehousing and the salaries of the managers of the bazaars. So an end would be put to the frauds of trade and the exorbitant covetousness of traders, and the producer would always be sure of a fair price for his produce. I see no other way in which to provide for the just organisation of labour; that is to say, so to regulate production and distribution as to protect the right of everyone to work in his own manner and to enjoy the fruit of his work.

Under this system co-operation would be open to all, without let or hindrance, and competition (an equally true principle which ought not to be opposed to co-operation) would have its fair scope, stimulating men to greater exertions for their own benefit, certain to reap that benefit so long as it should be no infringement upon the rights of others. I do not leave out of view scientific men, artists, writers, inventors, and speculators; those of recognised worth should, I think, receive not merely loans but pensions from the State, in order that their whole time might be given to Society; but until their proficiency become manifest they must rank with

untried inventors and speculators. It would be for them to show cause why they should give up ordinary labour for new endeavours. There would be this advantage over the present system, they would not have to dread "vested interests," refusing to credit their endeavours. Through what arrangements the discoveries of science should be made available to the whole nation; how inventions and works of genius should become national property, and the inventors and authors be duly recompensed; how associative or individual experiments should be encouraged—are matters of too much detail to be considered here. All these requirements would come within the Province of a Minister of Industry, or a Board of Labour and Exchange, which would need to be established at the very outset of Republican Government: I have but sketched some broad outlines of an organisation of labour.

Organisation of Justice.

With a sound system of national education few repressive laws would be necessary. For there would be few offences in a society whose members had been taught from childhood to understand and respect each other's rights, to desire and seek the fulfilment of their own duties. Still—for I am not Utopian enough to imagine that one generation, however well educated, could leap at once into a millennium—laws would be necessary to overrule the differences between individuals, to prevent the recurrence of offences against individuals and against the State. It is of the organisation of repressive law that I would now speak.

And first, let it be borne in mind as a guiding principle that the object of all law is, not arbitrary punishment, but prevention of further offence, whether through correction of the offender or by hindering the effect of his ill example.

Let the lawgiver also keep another rule before him: the distinction between *vice* and *crime*—between the act which immediately injures only the actor and that which directly assails another's rights. Public opinion is the effectual punisher of the first; the magistrate takes cognisance of the other.

For the individual has an inalienable right to lead his own life. If after good education his propensities carry him irresistibly to vice, what then? Can any police magistrate compel him to be virtuous? Virtue is a free growth. If in spite of all he will be vicious, he stands but upon the extremity of his individual right. Let him alone.

But his wicked example is contagious: he has a moral plague. Environ him with the sanitary cordon of public scorn: let him alone; till, like the scorpion girt with fire, he perish, if the flame avail not for his purification.

It is not with an individual's private depravity (having given him the education of a man) that the State has to deal.

The law is only a judge between man and man. And to be even more precise, I would confine the province of the magistrate to actions, letting words pass by as "idle wind."

It may be said, words are injurious, and also provocations to injury. If injurious, prove the effect, and then to all intents and purposes it is an act with which we have to deal. But do not punish the utterer for words only "calculated to injure," and find afterwards that the calculation was false, that the "libel" has fallen harmless. As to what are called provocations, if you meddle with them, what becomes of freedom of opinion? The preaching of a holier creed, of a better form of government, of a purer life in private, may, at any time, be construed (as so often they have been construed) into provocations and malicious libels against religion, law and morals. Deal strongly with offences when they occur, provide wisely against them by national education, and do not fear the provocation of even the craziest who impugn your order.

Let men incite their fellows to offend! If they do not offend, what matters the incitement? If they do offend, take heed of the offender rather than of him who bade him do it. The incited was free to refuse.

It is another matter when the offender is a child. Then punish the instigator; for the child is but the instrument with which *he* committed the offence. However, repressive laws are

not for children, who yet are under the schoolmaster, but for adults, the free agents.

The first step toward a thorough reform of the administration of justice will be the promulgation of a simple criminal code in place of the multitudinous statutes which now bewilder even the pretended interpreters of law ; a code which will not attempt to specify every possible offence, but which will lay down broadly and clearly the nature of offence, showing in what crime consists, mentioning only the more manifest offences as examples, leaving also the punishment of each offence (except in some few cases) to be apportioned by the magistrate to the special circumstances of the case. Let such a code, framed by the representatives of the nation, in simple language adapted to the comprehension of honest men, not providing for the quirks and quibbles of lawyers, be submitted to the whole people for their considerate criticisms and for their suffrages. And then repeal by one act the mischievous accumulation in which are bred those swarms of perverters of justice whom men call lawyers.

There will be no occupation for them when the code of laws, which has to hedge the daily life of every citizen, is so concise and clear that every citizen may understand its bearings.

For the primary administration of the law let there be district magistrates throughout the country, elected annually by the inhabitants of each district ; and let their authority be absolute in all cases between individual and individual, or between individuals and the district.

All breaches of the written law, all complaints of individual against individual, all differences requiring authoritative arbitration, would be tried before these district magistrates by jury of the inhabitants of the district. The jury would decide upon the fact, apply the law, and assess damages, the magistrates would enforce their decision and determine the sentence.

In cases of mere arbitration of difference between individuals, the litigants might take their option of trial by jury or reference to the magistrate alone.

The magistrates of a certain number of districts (say, all in a

county) would meet at fixed periods to form a general court, for deciding questions relative to the government of the county, or disputes between individuals or districts and the county, or to make arrangements for police and other matters requiring consultation and collective action.

There should be no charge of any kind for the administration of justice before the magistrates. The salaries of the magistrates, the cost of the police, and all other expenses in repressing or correcting crime, should be met by an assessment upon the district.

The magistrate would have absolute authority in his district, the board of magistrates in the county. But against abuse of that authority would be the double safeguard—annual election and the right of appeal.

Appeal would be to the Supreme Court of the Republic, whose function would be to take cognizance of all questions concerning the State—political violences, complaints of individuals against the local authorities, and all magisterial errors, whether complained of or not. To conduct the cases in this court there should be a public prosecutor.

It would be his duty to take the initiative against all political offenders, and to receive and promote all appeals from individuals complaining of the refusal of justice in the local courts. These appeals would be immediately decided by the Supreme Court, and the cost of the appeal be laid upon the party in error; upon the appellant if he failed to prove his case; upon the magistrates if convicted.

The Supreme Court might consist of twelve judges, a chief justice, and the public accuser; all of whom should sit by appointment of Parliament, revocable upon misconduct.

The salaries and expenses of the court should be paid out of the national revenue.

Both the Supreme Court and the magistracy would have the power of reversing their decisions at any time, upon evidence of incorrectness. The injured, by a wrong decision, would have a claim to compensation.

A special code should provide for the government of the army and navy in time of war. During peace, the magistrates of the districts, in which troops or crews of vessels might be, should have jurisdiction instead of courts martial.

To resume—what I would propose as necessary (in my belief) for the due administration of justice in the Republic is—"One simple written code—the expression of the people's will, or the people themselves (through their juries) as its interpreters.

"One single body of magistrates elected by so many districts, to act singly as administrators of the law in all matters appertaining to their several districts; to act conjointly in the counties, or larger districts, for all matters belonging to them.

"One Supreme Court and Court of Appeal appointed by the representatives of the people to decide upon all matters between the individual and the district or county, or between the individual, the district or county and the State.

"All persons to be eligible for the magistracy: the judges to be appointed from the body of magistrates."

I do not attempt here to prescribe a code of laws nor to enter into the profound and extensive question of punishment.

Laws, made or submitted to by the people, will be at all times the reflex of the popular idea of morality, justice and virtue: neither worse nor better than that. And Society must become convinced of the true nature of the law of consequential suffering before it will be in a condition to frame a penal code, which shall protect the many without violation of individual right.

But I believe, nay, late revolutionary events have proved, that the people are so far advanced beyond their present rulers as to be able to dispense with laws of fear now required by Monarchy, and to abandon degrading inflictions only fit for slaves.

Need one specify death-punishment and flogging as instances of the requirements of the present reign of terror? We may reasonably hope for a juster basis of legislation against crime, when the lawgiver shall be not the coward caution of a few tyrants, but the universal conscience of a free and educated nation.

Bases of Taxation.

The object of taxation is to provide for the expenses of Government. These expenses bear precisely the same relation to the other expenses of society that the business expenses of a banking firm bear to the private expenses of the individual bankers.

Society is but a firm. It has its business with other firms, necessitating salaries, and other expenses. Every member ought to pay his proportion of these expenses.

What would be thought of a firm in which the managers gravely proposed to obtain the payments of some of their partners by indirect means ; to charge some capriciously, making exceptions for some and compensating others ; and to mystify the whole business so that it should be impossible for any one of the partners to know the exact amount of his contribution ?

Yet this is the actual condition of our present "system" of taxation ; and not one of our financial statesmen gives us any clue out of the labyrinth. Not one appears to have the remotest idea of first principles.

Let us suppose that, when our firm was first established, the partners were jointly and equally possessed of so many acres of land. This land was let and underlet in various ways ; no matter how ; for the banking partners were jointly possessed, and, therefore, however unequal might be the value of the several holdings or acres, the value of each partner's share would always be equal to the value of every other share. Whether this land or property should deteriorate or improve, the partners in the bank, according to their tenure, were bound to share equally.

Let us further suppose that, when the bank began business, its yearly expenses were calculated at exactly the value of a year's rental of the land. Indeed, the firm undertook that their expenses should not exceed that rental.

Would it not be absurd for them to ask each other for more money, or to collect the money in any indirect way, as long as this rental could be available, a sum always lying at their hands ?

Would it not be equally absurd for them to bewilder themselves in devising some out-of-the-way new method of equality, by which this partner should not know how much he paid, and this other, under pretence of being let of in the right pocket, should pay extra from the left? Why, indeed, should they take any trouble in planning or contriving at all, while the rent of their joint property is always ready for them in equal proportions?

This England is a great firm: whose every member enters it—is born into it—possessed of his or her proportion of the joint property in the land. Why cast about for factitious equalities of taxation, when this great natural equality might save you all your trouble?

But the land “has been stolen,” “has gone out of your hands.” No such thing! You have merely neglected to collect your rents. Your title is as good as ever. Your title to the ground-rents: not to the tenants’ improvements.

Get your taxes from the land! Adapt the rental you will require from that to the expenses necessary for the business of your firm. If no rent you can get will meet your present expenses, then reduce your expenses. The whole mystery of finance is here. The only just, that is to say, equal tax is one of so much an acre, without reference to the difference of value. Try the others.

Would you levy a tax on property: it is manifestly unjust to except income. Would you levy it on income: to be just it must be on all incomes. You will never get at the incomes of all. You will never hit the precise proportion between certain and uncertain incomes; and you will tax one man’s overtaken strength, fast-killing him, at the same rate as another’s more profitable play. Also you will have to draw a line somewhere, and the exception of any is an inequality, an injustice; or you must descend so low in the scale that the sums collected from certain classes will not cover the cost of collection, which will drive you back again into the injustice of increasing the burthens of the richer classes to make amends for the loss of collecting from the lower. In no way is it possible for an income or a property tax to be universally just or equal.

Would you tax houses : again, all houses ? That looks well. But the value of houses is factitious. I carry on my business in a town or a part of a town where houses are too few for the population : my rent is high. Is the tax to depend on some one proportionating the houses to the population ? Or must I, losing already by my dear house (and I can get none other for my business), while my neighbour but a few streets off has just the same amount of business at half the rental—must I be taxed extra just in proportion to that loss ? A house tax can not be a just tax. Its equality is that of an equal measure to all lengths : like Procrustes' bed, very comfortable to the over-long.

Would you try a poll tax : the equity is equally Procrustean. The man who owns sixty thousand acres of the *country* shall pay no more than the beggared wretch whom he can evict to-morrow ; to say nothing of the premium on infanticide, which some political economists might consider a recommendation.

Would you tax the necessities of life : to be just you must only tax what everybody will equally use. Find it out first—not even bread, though everyone should eat bread. One man, to keep up health, must eat twice as much as another ; the natural disadvantage is enough without making him pay double tax for it.

Would you tax only luxuries : your tax will be a prohibition. You must fall back upon the needs.

Would you try that splendid mystification, the taxing everything in order so to get at everybody somehow, by hook or by crook ? No, you would not try that ; the folly has been sufficiently refuted.

Would you tax what comes into the country, and so get your taxes from foreigners ? We are beginning to find out that every penny so paid is charged to us again with interest. We pay it after all ; and it falls unequally upon those who most need the imports.

Would you tax the exports ? Then you stop our trade. How compete with other markets if our goods are so enhanced in price : having freight also to add to cost of production ? There also is the injustice of taxing only a class : the exporters.

Tax corn : large classes eat potatoes and pay no tax ; the richer

will eat larger proportions of flesh and so evade their share. Tax malt: the teetotalers escape. Tax tea: we will drink coffee. Tax tea and coffee: we can return to our cheap beer. Tax cloth: it will fall unduly on those obliged to be particular in their appearance. Not a single tax can be levied upon productions, necessities, or luxuries, without inflicting gross injustice on some class of the community. There may be differences of more or less injustice, but palpable injustice will be in everyone. And when you adopt your compensation system, of taxing everything, you do not remedy the injustice; you merely make it more difficult to estimate its position and amount.

The same condemnation applies to both direct and indirect taxation. Direct or indirect, the tax comes from the pocket of the tax-payer: and it is sheer nonsense when men talk of national relief with the gross amount of revenue unreduced. If you have the same revenue it is clear that the same amount of taxation exists, whichever pocket it may be drawn from.

Indirect taxation is, of course, more clumsy and expensive in collection, better adapted, too, to knavery of all descriptions, than direct taxation. But speaking here only of *the bases of taxation*, there is no difference between direct and indirect. Direct or indirect, there is injustice alike in every system of taxation except one. An equal rental for every cultivable acre of land is the only just and equal tax possible.

But the landowners? The nation is the only landowner. If our managing committee has robbed the firm of its land, or only neglected to collect the rent, shall that be a valid reason for our finding more capital to carry on our ordinary business? In reply to their demand, we tell them that they have our capital. Let them at all events use that before they ask for more. What is it to us—the sleeping partners (or that great part of the nation which has not the management)—that they have foolishly let our land or suffered it to be stolen or rendered of no avail? Neither they, nor we, nor all of us together, could alienate that property. It is ours. It is yet available. We tell them to find the expenses of our business out of that.

An unequal tax is an unjust tax. No tax can be equal except a tax upon land ; which, again we repeat, is but the nation's rental. Step once out of this simple principle and you must lose your way in no end of mischievous and unrighteous blundering. The only common property, the only raw material is land ; and it is only as raw material that you must tax it. If you begin to tax *labour upon it* you are lost.

This tax upon land, or rather this amount produced by the rental of the land—the rental being higher or lower according to the nation's need—is the nation's capital, a common fund, legitimately applicable to the business of the common weal. This is proceeding in national affairs as all sensible men proceed in their private affairs. *In any other tax* either an undue proportion must be forcibly taken from the pockets of some—which is robbery ; or some must be allowed to escape—which is an injustice to the rest, an injustice which is robbery—robbery either way. Get out of this dilemma, if you can.

But no such difficulty occurs when you meet your expenses with the rental of your land. You are then only paying your way out of a common fund of which all are equally possessed : instead of letting the common fund be lost, and having to make an unequal assessment—on whom you can catch.

As to the position of the *landlords* (miscalled *owners*), a consideration of that would be out of place in an argument on the *principles* of taxation. It may, however, be remarked that the land was taken on conditions, and those conditions were *that the holders should pay the national expenses* : which is the very requirement we have been here making. Every landlord's tenure is on the condition of feudal service. Let the land as of old find the service, commuted from men to money.

And here is a comfortable quotation from Adam Smith, to help the landlords to a cheerful submission :—

“Taxes upon the produce of land are in reality taxes upon rent, and though they may be originally advanced by the farmer, are finally paid by the landlord.”

Very true : and the same holds of all taxes ; they are finally

paid by the landlord. But meanwhile the farmer and the labourer *die*. Let us save all this roundabout, uncertain, and unsatisfactory process by the landlord paying first.

Education.

Elsewhere I have maintained the right and duty of the State to educate the children of the nation. I propose here to consider what is meant by "education," to whom, and in what measure, it should be accorded. As all are members of the State, its born servants, so all are equally entitled to its care. Education is for all. The meanest life is sacred: as sacred as the eyes. The utmost development of which each individual nature can be made capable should be the only limit to the measure of education. And, again, the right to labour involves the right to education. It would be a mockery to free industry from the tyranny of capital and to leave the worker in ignorance—the slave of the intelligent.

To enable every member of the nation to render humanity the utmost service of which his nature can be made capable, this is the object of education—this is the duty of the State.

The rights involved in the question of education are these: the right of the State as the organiser to teach in order to enable the nation's servants to fulfil their duties; the rights of the parent also to teach, not in any respect on account of any presumed right over the land, which cannot exceed the right of every individual to proselytise, but solely in virtue of the parent's special capacity through the sympathy of a kindred nature; and the right of a child to its inheritance—a share in the knowledge acquired by humanity: to harmonise these merits is the problem of education. I would have the State education of boys and girls to commence at the age of seven years. Up to that time children should be rather growing than learning.

The physical development is interfered with by too early exercise of the intellect. The first years of childhood should not be

troubled with thought: the infant lives should be perfectly happy—growing in beauty, like flowers rejoicing in the spring-time.

For the first seven years at least I think that children should remain with their parents. Their first education is through their affections. This must come through their parents.

God has knit together so wonderfully the hearts of children and parents that no other teachers can ever supply the parent's place in this tender unfolding of the blossoms of life.

The first and the last of human lessons—reverence, which is the true seed of aspirations and progress—should have its beginning in the home of infancy.

At seven years of age the child should be entitled to the education of the State: I say entitled, because I would give the parents still the option of educating their children for two years more; the parents knowing that their children, if neglected during these two years, would afterwards enter the public schools at a painful disadvantage.

The education of the State schools during these two years would assist in teaching the child to read, write, draw, and sing, in cultivating its perceptive faculties, and in orally explaining to it the broad facts of Nature and of God in relation to its position in the universe. The home education ought not to fall short of this.

At nine years of age the attendance of every child at the State schools should be obligatory.

I would have the children board at the schools, else they could not be subjected to that perfect equality which is the first lesson to be taught by the Republic.

There should be no vacations, but certain holidays; some to be observed at the school, some spent at home; Sundays, if desired, the children might regularly spend with their parents; and the parents would have access to them at all times, so as not in hindrance of the course of education.

I would divide the time of education into three periods. The first, considering two years as preliminary, would begin at the age of nine years and continue to the age of fourteen.

Education during the first period would consist in the cultivation of the moral and religious sentiments, the exercise of the body, and the storing and training of the intellect, awakened by the perception and conversations of the two preliminary years.

Of bodily exercises, I would have every child taught these : to swim, to ride, and to aim at a mark. These for both boys and girls, who, whether in or out of school, should be as much together as if they were members of the same family. Other gymnastics, such as racing, leaping, wrestling, climbing, should not be neglected.

Vocal music, drawing, arithmetic, geography, the main outlines of history—these, with explanations of the divine laws of duty, would occupy the school hours ; and for relaxation, when not actually at play, the child should be entertained with beginnings of lessons in astronomy, geology, botany, etc. Among instructive amusements gardening should hold the first place.

The second period of public education would be from the age of fourteen to that of eighteen.

Now I would sever the sexes : not altogether, but sufficiently to prevent the continuance of the hitherto unrestrained fellowship. Some of their studies and amusements would still be had together, with good effect. The girls should now be at liberty to reside at home, if their parents desired it ; still bound to finish their course of education by attending the classes of the school. From fourteen to eighteen the girl requires the constant care and companionship of her mother.

But the boy, from fourteen to eighteen, should be obliged to remain an inmate of the public school. This would be the period of his apprenticeship. He would now learn more exactly the nature and laws of his own being, physical, mental, and moral ; he would seriously study history, especially of his own country, and sufficient of all sciences for the ordinary purposes of life ; he would learn the grammar of his own tongue, and, if he showed any aptitude, make himself master of at least two other languages besides his own, one living and one dead. He would learn mathematics to help him to think correctly ; he would learn the use of

arms. Specially he would be taught to understand his duties as a man and a citizen.

Attached to the public schools should be workshops in which the different handicrafts should be taught, and here great part of this period of apprenticeship would be spent by the boys learning the special crafts for which they have evinced most aptitude and liking. Some in these shops, some in model-farms also attached to the schools, some over their books, their drawings, or their music, some in the normal schools—each according to his natural bent, easy to be seen when free opportunity had been given for a wise choice—so would be employed this period of apprenticeship.

The third period would be from the age of eighteen to that of twenty.

At eighteen the young Athenian swore in the temple to make his country greater and more glorious. So at eighteen I would have the youth of both sexes solemnly take upon themselves the business of life, understanding that now their general studies are at an end, and that henceforth their lives are to be devoted to their country and to Humanity.

The next two years would be spent by the young man in close application to the peculiar vocation for which he was destined. During that time he would be under professors and masters, working at the art or craft which he had chosen.

He would now have free access to the public library, and the option of residing at home (or wherever else might be approved by the masters of the school) and of using his leisure according to his own taste, bound only to obedience during the hours of instruction, and to attend, during the latter portion of his noviciate, a course of lectures explanatory of the laws of his country, to prepare him for worthily occupying the position of a citizen.

From twenty to twenty-one he would be sent to travel that he might enlarge his nature by learning in *what* other countries differed from his own. On his return he would be solemnly acknowledged a citizen, a free man, the uncontrolled master of his own actions, accountable only to the laws, and entitled to his share in the commonwealth.

The woman would also be similarly acknowledged, whether she had dwelt at home since the age of fourteen, or whether she had availed herself of her right to claim all the advantages of the public schools, to which under all circumstances her title would hold good.

Here ends that education of youth which the State has both the right and the duty to bestow and to impose upon all its members. But education stops not here. There is still the education of the adult, for with the Republican all life is educational. But this will be considered under the head of Religious Worship.

I would place the whole system of education under the superintendence of a minister of public instruction, assisted by an Educational Board, both appointed by the Representatives of the Nation. The teachers in the schools I would have chosen by the inhabitants of the several districts, subject to the approval of the Board. The whole scheme of education, framed as a law, should be submitted to the people. The cost should be defrayed out of the public revenues.

And so, asks one of our acquaintance, you would take the vagabonds of our streets and the paupers of our poor-houses and peasant homes, and you would give them all an education better than is given to princes?

Ay! to all of them. Not excluding nor omitting one. And so, rejoins the *radical reformer*, you will make the better half of the people disgusted with their station; and who will be our servants? who will sweep our chimneys, cook our dinners, clean our shoes—

Good friend! cease to scare thyself with this after-dinner vision of a lazy fine gentleman millennium. Be assured that, after even the perfected education of all, difficulty will still necessitate toil, and there will remain the everlasting law of duty, to arrive at nobleness through service, sacrifice, and endeavour. And for that word *station* which fell from thee, consider what thy servant's station really is. The most uneducated slave of whom we speak is, like our Brother Christ, a royal child of God, however thou,

who callest thyself a Christian, mayest deny the relationship. It is the dignity of a Child of the Eternal which we would maintain, even though the maintenance should compel your lordship to be your own groom and chamberlain.

Station! The natural destiny of every human life is to progress, not to remain stationary. To aspire and to progress, "in order that those faculties whose germs God has deposited in our souls may wing their highest possible flight."

CHAPTER III.

THE SUFFRAGE.

Direct Sovereignty of the People. Universal Suffrage ; the Foundation of the Republic—The Right. The Duty. The Purpose. Universal Suffrage—its Meaning.

Direct Sovereignty of the People.

THE direct sovereignty of the people or Monarchy ; there are no other principles of Government. The constitutional and representative systems with which the nations have been afflicted are one and all either dishonest concealments under a more or less popular mask, or bungling endeavours to establish some half compromise between the two irreconcilable antagonisms. Monarchy, the domination of one which is in principle precisely the same as the rule of a part—however numerous—and the sovereignty of the whole people ; between the two there may be half-way houses for whigs, but no sure ground upon which to found the nation.

Rousseau laid down the principle of the direct sovereignty of the people. The French Convention of 1793 adopted it, though it did not thoroughly carry it out. After nearly sixty years of Governmental experiments we revert to the same point.

Here is the dogma as put forth by Rousseau in his "Social Contract."

"The sovereignty being only the exercise of the general will can never be alienated ; and the sovereign which is only a collective being can be represented only by itself.

"The deputies of the people are not and cannot be its representatives ; they are only its commissioners ; they can definitely settle nothing. Every law which the people in person has not ratified is null ; it is not a law.

"From the moment that a people gives itself representatives—it is no longer free ; it is no more."

And in the Jacobin Constitution of 1793 the dogma is rendered thus :—

"The sovereign people is the universality of the citizens.

"It deliberates concerning the laws.

"The legislative body proposes the law and issues decrees.

"The laws have to be accepted by the people."

Here too is the commentary of Robespierre :—

"The word *representative* is not applicable to any agent of the people, because *will* can not be represented.

"The members of the Legislature are agents to whom the people have given the first power ; but in a true sense we cannot say that they represent it.

"The Legislature prepares laws and makes decrees : the laws have not the character of law until the people has formally accepted them. Up to this moment they have been only projects ; they are then the expression of the people's will. The decrees are executed without being submitted to the sanction of the people, only because it is presumed that it approves them. Not remonstrating, its silence is taken for an approval. It is impossible for a Government to have other principles."

Shades of the ever-calumniated martyrs of Thermidor ! your genius had over-stepped your time. Your Gospel remains to be accomplished.

The theory of Government, directly by the people, is formulised by Lédru-Rollin, in *La Voix du Proscrit*, as follows :—

"The people exercising its sovereignty without limits in a permanent manner in the electoral assemblies.

"Having the initiative of every law which it may judge useful.

"Expressly voting the laws, adopting or rejecting, by ay or no, the laws discussed and prepared by an assembly of delegates.

"An assembly of delegates or commissioners appointed yearly, preparing the laws and providing by decrees for things of a secondary importance to State administration.

"A president of the executive charged to provide for the appli-

cation of the law and the decrees, and to choose his ministers—a president elected and always revocable by the majority of the assembly.”

“Three years ago,” wrote Lédru-Rollin, “we taught:—‘Let us have no president; a president elected by the nation is antagonism and war.’ Only too quickly facts have verified our anticipations.”

Now impelled by the same logic we say, “No more *representatives*, but simple delegates, commissioners, not to say clerks, appointed only to prepare the law, leaving to the people the care of voting it: in other terms—*direct Government of the people by the people*—the people voting the laws and the assembly of delegates providing by decrees for secondary necessities.”

“Let us all have but one rallying cry, one device—the direct Government of the people; and soon the people shall do more than triumph; for the first time, at length, it will be without a master; it will reign.”

“The people,” adds Considérant, “will thus have at last a sure criterion for distinguishing everywhere the real democrat from the aristocratic democrat, the whig-radical democrat, the sham democrat. It will easily perceive why democrats desire that it should govern itself; and what democrats desire to govern it.”

Against this popular principle the foremost opponent is the socialist orator and schoolmaster—Louis Blanc.

Louis Blanc would not allow the direct sovereignty of the people; he permits it to choose representatives, but denies it the initiative and the vote upon the laws; he would have the laws made by the people’s representatives. He cites, to support his opposition, Montesquieu, Rousseau, and Robespierre, and concludes for his own part, that the people as a whole is ignorant, incapable, easy to be led astray, full of obstinate and fatal prejudices, and that, therefore, the more enlightened minority should govern.

Montesquieu, after establishing that the people is well fitted for choosing its representatives, has said, “But would it—the people—know how to manage any special business, to understand places, occasions, moments, in order to profit by them?” No, it would

not know this. But what has this to do with the direct sovereignty of the people as set forth by Lédru-Rollin? The people would not know how to manage a special business; nor is it within its province.

Such are not matters of legislation but of administration, to be conducted by the people's servants, not to say clerks.

Louis Blanc quotes the following passage from the *Esprit des Lois*: "The people which has the sovereign power, ought itself to do all that it can well do, and that which it can not well do must be done by its ministers.

"Its ministers are not its own if it does not name them. It is then a fundamental maxim of this democratic Government that the people name its ministers: that is to say its magistrates.

"It needs, like monarchs, and even more than they, to be conducted by a council or senate; but in order that it may have confidence in them it must elect the members."

From this Louis Blanc concludes that Montesquieu admits the interference of the greater number only in the choice of these ministers or representatives.

On the contrary, the author of the *Esprit des Lois*, in spite of his anti-democratic tendencies, proclaims logical necessity of the people doing for itself all that it can well do; and even his council or senate is provided for in the formula of Lédru-Rollin.

But Montesquieu is even more precise than this, for he says, "It is a fundamental law of Democracy that the People alone should make the laws." In his quotations from Rousseau M. Blanc is equally unfortunate; the Genevese philosopher asks "if the blind multitude could itself execute an enterprise so great and so difficult as a system of legislation?" and he concludes with the necessity of a legislator. And yet this does not go beyond the opinion of those who would have an assembly of delegates to prepare the constitution and the laws, but requiring also that neither constitution nor laws should have force until ratified by the people.

Let Rousseau himself define what he means by a legislator. Even the decemvirs never arrogated to themselves the right of passing a law on their own authority.

Nothing of what we propose, said they to the people, can become law without your consent.

Romans ! be yourselves the authors of the laws which ought to make you happy. He, then, who draws up the laws has not or ought not to have any legislative right ; and even the people can not, if it would, divest itself of this incommunicable right, because according to the fundamental fact it is only the general *will* which obliges individuals, and we can never be sure that an individual will is in conformity with the general will till after having submitted it to the free suffrages of the people.

M. Blanc refers also to Robespierre as prescribed in the most formal manner the permanent sovereignty of the primary assemblies.

M. Blanc, however, depends upon exceptional cases which by no means prove his position.

When at the trial of Louis XVI. the Girondins proposed an appeal to the people, Robespierre opposed that appeal. He knew perfectly well that to reserve the judgment of the tyrant for the people would be only to open the arena to the loyalists to make every section a battlefield and to discredit the assembly.

Besides—this was a question not of legislation but of administration. And hear again how decisive Rousseau is upon this point :

“I would specially have avoided, as of necessity ill-governed, a Republic where the people, believing it could do without its magistrates or with only leaving them a precarious authority—should have imprudently kept in its own hands the administration of civil affairs and the execution of its own laws.”

Such was the rude constitution of the first Governments arising out of a state of need, and such also was one of the vices which ruined the Republic of Athens.

But this distinction between the making and the administration of law is insisted upon as much by Lédru-Rollin and Robespierre as by Rousseau, and as no condemnation of the exercise of the people's sovereignty in the making of the laws.

Louis Blanc, however, notes that Robespierre went further—

that he looked upon the appeal of the people as the destruction of the convention itself; when once convoked, the primary assemblies would be urged by all sorts of intrigues to deliberate upon all sorts of propositions; even to the very existence of the Republic.

It should be remembered, however, that Robespierre spoke in the face of revolted or revolting departments; in presence of a terrible foreign war rendered yet more dangerous by intestine treasons.

This was not the moment to give the primary assemblies an opportunity of legitimatising anarchy.

And this again is but an exceptional case. Against it is the overpowering weight of Robespierre's support of the Constitution of 1793; without need of re quoting the words we have given by beginning with "the word representative is not applicable to any agent of the people, because will can not be represented." Gathered not from exceptional instances nor from garbled quotations, the opinions of Rousseau and Robespierre and even the acknowledgments of Montesquieu are decidedly in favour of the doctrine of direct legislation by the people. The Convention also consecrated the same principle. Let M. Blanc now speak for himself, since the authorities are against him.

The popular Socialist asks if it is not true that men of intelligence are fewer than the ignorant, the devoted fewer than the selfish, the friends of progress fewer than the slaves of habit, the propagators of ideas fewer than the partizans of error; whence he deduces that to demand that the greater number should govern the less is to demand that ignorance should govern enlightenment; selfishness, devotion; routine, progress; and error, truth. That is to say, M. Blanc is the defender of despotism, the glorifier of the Czar, the Pontiff, and *the Patriarch*. Many thanks then for his Socialism! But let us follow out his theory of governmental capacities.

If the enlightened, the devoted, the friends of progress form but a minority, and if the greater number is inevitably condemned to ignorance, selfishness, routine and error—if, therefore, the few

ought to rule the rest, while the blind or vile multitude have but to obey, it follows that universal suffrage is not right, that political equality is a falsehood. Remarkable enough that Socialists and competitive Whig-Radicals should find a point of agreement on this common ground of capacity. One, truly, seeks only the *liberty* of the stronger; but the other is looking for *fraternity*. And yet they meet in the denial of equality. Will M. Louis Blanc allow his logic to carry him to the end?

And if the minority is always right, is it not also right even within the assembly? Should it not be, not only the minority of the country, but the minority of that minority, ascending at last, perhaps, to the Patriarch himself, which should command, in virtue of the greater capacity? But M. Blanc would defer to a parliamentary majority. He is, however, shrewd enough to foresee this objection, and thus replies:—

“In an assembly composed of citizens who have been elected as the most enlightened of all, there does not exist, there could not exist, between the majority and the minority, that enormous disproportion of knowledge, intelligence, education, study, experience, and ability, which exist naturally, in the midst of a civilisation imperfect or corrupted, between the smaller and the greater number, taken in mass. In every assembly of elected citizens, *and from the very fact of their being elected*, the majority and the minority, as regards *competence*, are worthy, or are reputed worthy; and that is what renders reasonable *there* this law of the majority, which *elsewhere* no longer presents the same character.”

Is there so very little to choose between our representatives? We deemed them bad enough, but did not think there had been so little difference. Are party majorities always so enlightened and liberal? Alas, for the counter evidence of the Law of the 31st of May (though possibly M. Blanc considers that only a step in the right direction, toward the rule of a national minority), for our own *no House* when a popular question is to be brought forward. We might also ask the accomplished sophist how it is that so much wisdom resides in the majority of the elected, who must be the representatives of the ignorant majority outside. To such

an absurd pass comes the doctrine of *the people's right to choose its representative without the right to legislate* for itself.

And again, the advocate of capacity refers to the thousands of men overwhelmed in ignorance and prejudice. What then? how came they in this state? Was it not your government of the few—always the enlightened few—which placed them there? And by whom, or how shall they be redeemed except through their own exertions?

Yet still the eloquent Socialist is the advocate of universal suffrage. Be consistent, with Thiers, Hume, Cobden, and the like; and let us know the exact value of your intentions. There is not one of your arguments against the direct legislation of the people, which does not apply equally against universal suffrage; which does not go, in fact, to the justification of every despotism, from that of the Czar to that of the time-serving "Radical." This doctrine of an enlightened few is the doctrine of a limited suffrage. Who shall say how limited?

For if the people are incapable of making their own laws, can they be capable of judging who shall be fittest to make their laws for them? Is it so easy too for them to deceive themselves in matters of fact directly concerning their own interests, and so very difficult for them to be deceived as to persons? Surely then the old system of a caste set apart as hereditary legislators—not altogether unlike the communist division of labour—must be the best, if not encroaching too much on the divinity of the still fewer and so far wiser kings. It is an easy course toward despotism.

We do not assert that the majority is wiser than the minority, or that it is more devoted, or in any way better. But who is to pick out the better minority? There lies the difficulty. Either *their capacities* must be self-elected, which makes strange work, when we call to mind what sort of animals have taken themselves to be endowed with legislative faculties; or they must be elected by the stupid majority, and then again recurs the question—Are you likely to choose the best law-giver when you are so utterly unable to form any judgment even on the nature of law?

M. Blanc finds surety in the power which the people has of dismissing its representatives. Could he not find equal surety in the power of revoking a bad law? But what is this power of dismissing the offending servants, and electing better in their stead, when you have given to the offenders the very power of preventing your protest? What power of dismissal had the French people when their representatives disenfranchised them on the 31st of May? Well may Rousseau say—"From the moment that a people gives itself representatives, it is no longer free, it is no more." Well may he say, the English people think it is free: it deceives itself. It is so only during the election of members of Parliament. So soon as they are elected, it is a slave, it is nothing.

There is a story of Ninus, the Assyrian monarch, surrendering his power to his wife for only one day. She was merely his "representative;" but as such she took possession of the army, the treasury, and the civil government, and concluded her representation by dethroning and decapitating her *Sovereign*. Like Ninus, peoples commit suicide by proxy; and fraternal philosophers are found to argue for the right.

As to the exercise of revocation even where possible (and in the worst needs it would not be possible), it would be a foolish setting of limits to the conscience of the representative, who might as often err in his integrity as from any dishonest motive. Besides it is impossible to foresee all cases, even for a single year. The people's servant must be free to act within certain bounds: what should those bounds be but the line where matters of secondary importance or of administration cease and the province of permanent legislation begins?

We repeat that we do not consider the majority of the people capable of sound legislation. And when has a representative body shown itself capable? What more tyrannical, more foolish, more partial laws could be passed by the most tyrannical and foolishest majority, than disgrace the codes of the best-governed of "constitutional" countries? How shall the people without practice ever become capable of legislating? They will blunder: be it so.

They will so learn through their experience. They will not wilfully err as their "representatives" do now. The will, be it wise or not, of the majority of the people will no longer be set at naught by legislative quacks or scoundrels. Wise or blundering, the people's will would be done. Wise or blundering: who has the right to gainsay it? If a Louis Blanc or a million of Louis Blancs may gainsay it in virtue of any presumed capacity, why may not a Nicholas or a Napoleon as capaciously? What difference of *principle* is there between limiting the right of humanity at one point rather than another? What difference, except in degree, between the Humes, the Thiers, or the Louis-Blancs, and the Czar or Thibet Lama?

It is worth considering, too, how far direct government by the people would crush the hopes of all the sects, and sectarian politicians, who aspire to lead "the enfranchised people." Place the power in the people's hands, and what could the pretenders do? Your scheme of social reform may be good; mine, too, has some excellence in my own eyes. Under the representative system you and I and all of us would be contending for possession of the government to try our experiments upon the body politic. But, all laws having to be made by the people, we should be forced to content ourselves with convincing a majority of the people, instead of intriguing to obtain *a party in the House*. There is some advantage here.

Yet what time could the whole people have to consider and make the laws? Well, Parliament sits now, making all deductions off days and holidays, little more than four months in the year; and surely half at least of that time is wasted upon private measures, local measures, worthless measures, and measures intended only to amuse "our constituents." At even such a rate of superabundant legislation, the one Sunday in every week, with an occasional holiday in great emergencies, would be enough for all national purposes. And the people would be better engaged than on Sundays now; they might then find reason to meet in their churches, and pray there together in effectual fervency that God's will be done on earth, His kingdom come.

We cannot suppose, however, that one-tenth of the time now consumed in legislation would be so wasted even by the most ignorant and discordant population. There would no longer be the same object in heaping law upon law, to feed lawyers and to provide for innumerable partial "interests." The constitution (the statement of first principles so far as ascertained and generally acknowledged) once framed as the compact between the ever fluctuating majority and minority, and a code of general laws established, there would be but seldom an occasion for additional legislation. The good sense of the people is well aware that great as is the good of having the greatest possible multitude of counsellors in law-making, there is no wisdom in a multitude of laws.

Universal Suffrage; The Foundation of the Republic—The Right.

The right of the franchise is the birthright of humanity. We claim to be recognised as human beings. Universal suffrage is but the symbol, the public and legal acknowledgment, of the natural equality of mankind.

All men are born equal, equal in their common humanity; equal in this, that each has an individuality of his own, a distinct and independent nature, a life which it is impossible to confound with the life of another.

Every human being has an organisation peculiar to himself, a frame peculiar to himself, a will and motive-energy peculiar to himself, a life which is his own and which none other can live for him, a life which it is his duty to build up toward the most perfect beauty of which his nature is capable. Each individual has the work of his own life to do, the interests of his own life to consult, the conduct of his own life to regulate. He has, in truth, his own life to live; can get no one to live it for him; can by no cunning transfer it, by no power get it transferred—to the shoulders of another. This is what we mean by the natural equality of man.

We know well enough the differences that exist of height, of

form, of beauty, of intelligence, of power. Yet are all men equal. There is no mark of the slave upon any, no natural sign branding one man as essentially different from another. All have the same birth, the same life, the same death, the same erect form, the same organs, the same muscular and nervous system, the same appetites and wants and passions, the same desires and hopes and fears, the same need of life, of growth, and development. Differing in degree, there is no difference in kind.

The greater natured Shakspeare has more of intellect than the Russian serf; but each in his degree has the same need of development. Each needs to live his life, to develop his nature so far as its capability will allow, to grow to the utmost of his capacity. Each has the right of growth however different the capacity.

Oak and bramble have their different growth: rose and lily their different form and hue: but each has its life to live, its separate destiny to accomplish. So are all men, when most differing, equal.

Even more points of likeness than of difference subsist between them. The highest man claims closer kindred with the lowest than with ought else in creation.

They both are men. The same sun warms them; the same stars smile upon them; the same winds breathe to them melodiously. The storm frowns not less darkly on the monarch; the flower gives not less fragrance to the slave.

Each toileth alike up the mountain side. The flowing tide stays not for the king's command: the flowers bloom over the vagabond's neglected grave. Everywhere the clear voice of equal nature proclaims the brotherhood of men, their brotherhood of life, however different their station, their gifts, their character.

It is a question of human reverence. He who denies the manhood of the lowest, denies the divinity of man, surrenders the dignity of his own manhood, degrades himself, by making his manhood to depend upon exceptional and changeful causes, on place or special endowment, instead of depending upon that right, of birth which is inalienable and indestructible, which no time nor chance can weaken or depose.

How shall a man abdicate his own nature? How can you take possession of the being of another? How assume another's existence? He is sovereign of that, be his sovereignty never so poor. You cannot deprive him of it. Be his form never so ungainly, you cannot make it other than his; be his soul never so dark and diminutive, the spirit of the Eternal once breathed thereon has made him man—your equal; for you have no higher claim to manhood than that same breath of God, which cannot be measured, which cannot be compared, of which no man can be deprived and live.

Poet and untaught slave, monarch and beggared serf; the breath of life in each is his title to the dignity of man.

You cannot deny his title, while you claim that title for yourself. Fellow-sovereigns, however wide or confined your realms, in all that concerns you mutually—you meet upon equal footing.

Man with man, sovereign with sovereign, child with child of the Eternal—what are your differences of to-day in the face of the eternal future growing from the life of each?

Equal as the stars of heaven, equal as year with year, though no two days are alike in their contents, equal as the ocean waves, equal as flower with flower; so is life with life, each springing from the womb of the past, each pregnant with the eternity to come. When thou hast lived one day for thy fellow—then talk of inequality, then deny your reverence for the sacred principle of life, the sovereignty of self, that emanation from the universal spirit in which we all, from the Imperial Cæsar to the beggarliest wretch on earth, both live and move and have our being.

The acknowledgment of this common humanity, the acknowledgment of this birthright of human life, the acknowledgment of that self-sovereignty with which Nature has endowed us, of which it is impossible altogether to deprive us, and without which there can be neither conscience nor duty—this is what we demand in demanding the right of the franchise.

The Duty.

As right is universal, so is duty. Right is the ground of duty. Duty the due growth of right. Right is the opportunity, the means of duty. Duty the advantage taken, the use made, the right.

There is no such thing as right without duty.

No man has a right to isolate himself, to separate from the society of his fellows, to refuse communion and fellowship with them. *Humanity—human life—is one.*

It is one great whole, to be organised harmoniously for the continuous and greatest possible progress of all. It is not a mere fortuitous jumbling together of distinct individuals, but a gathering of one vast family under the universal law of attraction and similarity—one vast family : all members thereof having the same aim, the same purpose, the same idea of life : each member having his distinct place, each his special mission, in concert with the whole, and conducive to the general purpose : each acting in all and acted upon by all, each served by all and capable of serving all.

No man can resign his place among men, or deny his duty to humanity. He who would separate forgets his obligations to the past, which bind him dutifully to the future.

There, toward the past, he has contracted a debt—a debt to collective humanity. He has received ; he is bound to render.

All the life of the past, the endeavour, the endurance, the experience, the accumulation of knowledge and power, the gain of ages, of all the past of mankind—all this has worked together to make him the man he is. Be he what he may, he is the child of the past. It is his duty, since he can return no benefit to the past, to transmit as much as possible to the future.

There is no other way of squaring accounts, of paying the debt incurred. We stand between the past and the future ; the business of this present life is to hand the gain of the one to the beseeching hands of the other. This is the real mission, the duty of life.

No man ever lived or can live apart from and independent of others. Had he not mother's love? How shall he repay it? Needs he not love from his kind—the sympathy that upholds, the trust that ennobles, the faith that purifies? Needs he not aid in sorrow and in sickness? Has not the feebleness of his infancy been nursed? Shall not his eyes be closed in death? Independence! Man may isolate himself for a part of his life—seldom even for a part. He has no right even for a part. What! wait to manhood dependent upon the love, the care, the dutiful action of others, and then, then only, claim a right to be independent, to separate, denying all duty, because thou needest no help and so will render none? Return first the debt of younger years ere thou sayest that thou owest nothing to humanity!

And not merely the debt to younger, but to former years. How much of the world's past life has entered into thy organisation and character? How much of what the ages have suffered and done has been bestowed on thee? What Englishman contains not in him something borrowed from our English past: that England, too, having borrowed from others, from Germany, from France, from Italy, from Greece, from Palestine, from Egypt, ay! and from all other lands?

What! has Milton lived for you, and shall not you live for England? Have Wycliffe, Eliot, Hampden, died for you, and you not owe your life to England?

You, fed by England's Shakspeare, have you no thankful service unto Shakspeare's England?

And to the world, too! To humanity! As, a stone dropped in, the water circles spread wider and wider, so the waves of duty flow beyond the bounds of country till the circle fills the world.

As the star in its sphere, in its system, in the system of systems, so man in the family, in his nation, in the system of humanity. All the world, since life began, has worked for thee; work thou for the world. For thee has Homer sung, for thee has Sappho loved. For thee has Leonidas fought, and Plato spoke; for thee Galileo sought the stars.

The glorious army of martyrs gave their lives for thee.

For thee the divinest chose the dungeon and the hemlock juice, the scourge and the crucifixion. For thee humanity has lived, has loved, has suffered. Pay to humanity the life-debt thou hast incurred.

A debt—that which is owed—which ought to be—a duty. What is thy duty? DEVELOPMENT, GROWTH, AND SACRIFICE. Development of all the capabilities of thy nature; growth of thy nature, ever higher and higher, toward the divinest ideal thy soul can contemplate; development and growth, that thou mayest be a helper, a worthy servant of humanity, a fit and acceptable offering in the great temple of life, to propitiate the future. This is duty; so to develop one's powers, so to grow, that one's life may be useful to the world, the present a sacrifice worthy of the Eternal. A sacrifice: the joyful rendering of that which thou hast acquired, the giving to the world the fragrance of thy own beautiful nature, the fruit that has ripened on thee, the golden grain of thy devoted life.

All sacrifices—not denials, but offerings on the altar of progress, at the shrine of humanity. So bear thy days even as a wreath of flowers upon thy brows, the fillet of sacrifice, the wreath of triumph! The joyful sacrifice be thine, the triumph the Eternal's. Ay! even when the sheaves are scattered and the life beaten out, and the very straw consumed, and the plough gone over thy place, some grain will yet be sown for the world's future harvesting, and thy spirit, bruised and ground down for the good of humanity, will haply then be conscious of the joy to which it was abandoned.

Since all have duties, all must have the means of fulfilling their duties. What means but freedom? what freedom but on the ground of "equal right"? How shall you develop your powers under my absolute or hindering will? How shall you grow to your full growth, if I grow so rankly that there is not room for you?

To each full room for freedom of action on the common ground of right! Liberty on the ground of equality; duty growing out of right. Therefore must the suffrage—the recognition and expressive symbol of our right—be universal.

Right universally assured, that duty may everywhere be done. Nothing but the universal can satisfy us.

Because no one can be excused from his duty, because we need that all be free to perform the duty for which all are required ; that in the chorus of life no note may be missing, that the harmony may be complete.

The Purpose.

We are ruled (when we are really ruled) for the progress of humanity ; ordered so that each may have sufficient room for growth, for the world's advantage. We need universal suffrage, that all parts may be brought within the rule, that there may be no exception to the law, that no rank disorder may prevent the perfected growth, even of the weakest.

As eternity counts every hour, so needs the world that all be ordered for the world's behoof.

The careful gardener leaves not in his trim garden one corner for rank overgrowth, where vermin may hide who would devour his tenderest plants.

So in the nation should be no neglected and untutored corner, no city of refuge for a parish class, or be sure that they will devour your hopes and ruin the fair garden of life.

One rotten sheep—one unhealthy member ! The evil of one is the evil of all ; the good of the whole cannot be without the good of each.

How shall the musician spare one note—how admit one false note ? How more easily achieve the complicated harmony of life ?

Woe to the people among whom false notes are not prevented, whose very leaders knowingly play false ! Woe to that people among whom the vilest weeds grow rankly, where vermin live unnoticed, who devour the tenderest hopes of the Spring, and none to prevent them ! Woe to that people among whom their enemy soweth tares !

Could each corn plant be cared for, be free to grow on its own equal and sufficient ground, how abundant would be the harvest.

We need universal suffrage to upbuild the nation. That temple of the Eternal, the sacred workshop wherein we serve the future of humanity, shall not be unsightly and disgraced because of its many broken and disfigured columns.

What is a nation? Not a mere horde of savages or serfs driven by some imperious master. Not a Babel-gathering of trading thieves, held together only so long as they can find withal to exercise their calling.

A nation is the free association of equals, the predestined association of men of one race, in whom tradition and history have breathed the prophecy of an identical life—men whose cradle songs, whose noblest memories, whose dearest hopes, echo that charmed word of country, which links together the various families of the earth, each in its special bond of harmonious tendency, whose result is national vitality and national growth, and the achievement of national purpose—the fulfilment of the nation's work and mission in and for the world.

How shall the nation grow except all parts in the nation share and help its growth? How shall all grow unless they have fair room for growth—the equality on which their freedom builds, rising uprightly like some well-proportioned column, a pillar of humanity?

Savages build not at all. Your traders, held together by one common interest, would sell the very foundation stones. Serfs at some royal bidding may build pyramids, but cannot build a nation, not even though the royalty be held in commission by so many as 800,000 of the elect.

A nation can only be built by all of all. All the people, each in his place. The individual first perfecting his own upright and rounded life; the family standing as perfectly together, a stately column-group; the parish, township, and province, the further association for that combined work for which the family alone is not competent; and the nation, the completed temple, built and supported by the regulated strength of all. Only from the universal suffrage of equals can such a building rise. The slave could not mount to the height of the freeman, could not reach to upbear the temple roof.

The nation is indeed a living temple, with multitudinous columns, many as individual natures, but which all unite together to uphold the place of worship for the future. Infamous is he who neglects his portion of the service, who upholds no part of the sacred roof of country, the homestead of his race !

For the vote is not a mere fractional share in the election of a master of tongue force. It is not a mere hustings delusion, the careless or considerate dropping of some name in a ballot box. Nor is it but a pledge for higher wages, respectabilities, and comforts. It is the symbol of manhood, the public acknowledgment that a man's life is his own, that all his fellow-men of that nation recognise him as a man, a free man, their equal, to be cared for, and ruled and ordered, be he never so insignificant, with the same care and in the same rule as the noblest. Nay, it is symbol of far more than that.

It is not only the proclamation and fearless challenge of the man's rights, but also the open confession of the man's duties, the public homage (would once a year be too often for that homage ?) of the individual man to the nation and through that to the collective humanity to which he so swears fealty and allegiance, confessing that for it he lives and moves and has his being.

Wages, respectabilities, and comforts : freedom has better growths than these. Let the respectable stalled ox take his due wage and fodder, and be comfortable.

The aim of human life is higher than that. Not for the mere material ; not only for some better arrangement of land and labour (though these things wait on freedom), not by any means to supersede the necessity for work, is the place and dignity of manhood to be desired.

But to take the yoke from off thy neck, that thou mayest work freely and healthfully, that all thy powers and capabilities may be employed and perfected, that universal life may be better served ; that thou mayest bear thy heavy sheaves of corn, thy full rich fruit, any way thy worthy and acceptable sacrifice, to the mighty spirit of the future. Rough the path of life, toilsome the ascent, and heavy the burthen that must be carried to the distant heights.

We need the help even of the least ; there is no strength to be spared. The slave may stumble and faint by the wayside. Let him seek his rest, his comforts, his own "well being"! What is the general good to him?

What to him the aspiration toward the excellent and the Eternal? But the freemen faint not nor stumble. Singing, they journey onward, hand linked in hand, and hopeful eyes consoling hope ; so each upholds the other.

Come, my brother, my sister, cry the equal voices ; aid us in the work which is neither thine nor ours, but the Eternal's ; bow down with us in worship of the inevitable ; raise thy proud head toward heaven, thy life aspiring as the altar's flame soars skyward !

Wreath with us the crown of future triumph ; help us to upbuild the moving temple of humanity.

It is for this that we would be ruled, for this that we need universal suffrage.

That every human life may have its healthy growth, its perfect bloom or pleasant store of fruit, and so the garden of the world be well arranged and beautiful ; that every columned life may be firmly built and finished to its utmost grace ; that the National Temple in which we would worship the Eternal spirit of growth and freedom may be worthy of its purpose, of the service to which it is dedicated, well proportioned in all its parts, and the whole a perfect beauty, an increasing loveliness and "a joy for ever."

Universal Suffrage—Its Meaning.

"The political question," says Lamennais, in his excellent work on *Modern Slavery*, "resolves itself into the question of electoral reform : a wide-spreading and thorough reform which shall rest, neither upon the degraded and degrading principle of tax qualification, nor on arbitrary formulas, nor on foolish presumptions of capacity ; but which shall rest upon the inherent right of humanity ; because then no one will be deprived of his essential liberty, of his just share in the collective sovereignty. Then only will modern slavery be abolished."

Lamennais wrote for France. The Revolution of 1848 established that electoral reform. Nearly fifty years later we in England are still considering rather leisurely what small addition to the number of privileged electors may at once satisfy the fears of weak political monopolists and the not inordinate desires of "radical" reformers.

The Right of Universal Suffrage.

Our claim to universal suffrage may be based upon these several grounds:—*The natural quality of humankind, the right to assist in making the laws that are to rule us, and the qualification of tax-payment.*

First, and far above all else—treating this question as not only political, but moral, we base the right—the rightness—of universal suffrage upon *the natural equality of humankind*. All are not equal in virtue, genius, stature, or muscular power. Men are not all the same shape, the same height, the same mental capability or muscular power, nor do they all possess the same degree of moral beauty. Their equality consists in their common humanity, in the distinct individuality of each; an individuality which can not in any way be abdicated or confounded with the individuality of another. All are born equal in this: that every human being has an independent organisation, an independent will, a frame which is his own, a life which is his own and none other's, a life which it is his business to build up toward the most perfect beauty of which his nature is capable, which it is his business to endow with the completest nobility his natural powers can acquire. Every man lives for himself, can get no other to live for him. Every man must do the work of his own life; by no specious contrivance can he transfer that work to any other man. He is an independent being, sovereign lord of himself, and can by no means abdicate that sovereignty or be deprived of his individuality; can by no cunning process either fuse himself, or be infused, into the life of another man. Fetter him as you will—trample upon and despise his spirit—brutify his thought—control him so that

his muscles move as obediently to your command as the steam-engine to the touch of the engineer, so that his whole being is the slave of your dominant will, and his thoughts the echo of your dictation, still, in spite of all this, you can not make him one with yourself, nor a part of yourself; you can not make him a sure possession. You can never wholly root out the individuality within him; you can never be sure that he has renounced altogether and abdicated his natural self-sovereignty; you can never be certain how long that self-sovereignty shall remain disposed and in abeyance. In the deepest recesses of that slave's soul still burns the sacred fire of an independent spirit, to burst forth, you know not when, perhaps when you least expect it, to light up the slave's eye, to warm his pale cheek, and to kindle fiery thought and flashing speech, in indignant denial of your tyrannous boast, "I have made this creature mine; this wretch is no longer a man; he is my property, a thing belonging to me." O fool, fool! you cannot tread out the soul of a living man. That one thing is beyond the reach of tyrants. The slave is still a man—not less so than the oppressor. You can not make him other than a man; a sovereign, however captive, a self-sufficient, independent being, with duties of self-respect, with natural opportunities and hopes of self-development, of healthy growth and happiness, with need of human sympathy: in all these respects like unto his fellow-men.

All men are by nature free and equal. The same air is breathed by all; the same earth is common to all; the same blue sky bends lovingly over all; the same cloud-wrapped tempest that lowers upon the slave, unbends not its powers for any majesty of the tyrant; into the ear of the ploughing serf the winds whisper as melodiously as into the ear of the prince who devours the harvest; the same elements minister to all; there is the same birth, the same death; the same erect form; the same muscular action; the same mental organisation; the same hopes and fears and passions; the same modes of thought, of speech, of action. Between the God-like Shakspeare and the poorest and most imbruted slave there are more points of likeness than of difference. *Each*

is a man. Neither the Shakspeare, the Newton, nor the Napoleon, can show any title to possess the beggarliest wretch upon earth. That beggar wretch—he, too, is a man. What are they? Are they more than human? Men's equality consists in their common humanity. Ay, in their common humanity! Tear away the wrappings of conventional usages, the blinds which long habits of usurpation, too long tamely endured, have set up between us and nature; look if you can at a just constitution of society; or look back to what man was before a false-dealing and false-founded social system had robbed him of his just position—a manlike place and relation toward his fellow-men; and then answer the question. What is the common, the original and inherent right of humanity? What was the natural equality of mankind? Every human being is by nature's law, by God's warrant and prescription, a sovereign prince—lord of himself and of his own life. True, their realms may be of various power and grandeur, but each in his own realm is paramount. And as, when sovereigns of nations meet together to treat of their common affairs, an equality subsists among them, though perhaps no two of them rule over precisely the same extent of territory, so in treaties between human beings (and just government is a series of treaties between the members of society) each and every treater is entitled to the same footing of equality—his place as a sovereign prince—though no two of these human beings are endowed with precisely the same sovereignty. Indeed there can be no treaty but upon this ground of equality. All else is dictation and overruling of some kind: tyranny, by whatever polished name you may christen it. *This is our natural right of universal suffrage.*

Our second ground for universal suffrage is *the right to assist in making the laws which are to bind us.* Laws are made for all the members of the community. Else they are not laws at all, but lawless privileges. If laws are meant for all, it is manifestly just that all should assist in making them. Though you need laws only for property, is not a man's person his property—his inalienable property?—also a property which may be damaged.

It is idle to talk about "the rights of property"—of "having an interest in one's country"—while this primary and most essential right of personality remains unrecognised. The first property a man can possess is his own life; as the first interest a man can have in his country is himself. And be he pauper or wealthiest Rothschild, he is rightful sovereign over himself, and can in nowise abdicate that sovereignty. Naked, landless, and penniless, the man comes into the world. "What is it to him," say some of you, "how he is governed? He has no stake in the country." *What is it* to him how he is governed? Is it nothing to him how he shall be clothed or fed? how he shall be educated? whether he shall enjoy or suffer? whether he shall obtain love or hate? be noble or wretched? Is all this nothing? Has he no stake or interest, who has depending on him a life to be made or marred by this government "which is no concern of his?" A life, with hopes praying for fruition, with energies requiring development! A life with an eternity dependent upon it—an eternity of consequence to the world, the human future! A life to which, perhaps, some fellow-life is clinging for that love which peoples earth with myriad forms of happiness or woe! And is all this nothing? Nothing, certainly, to any but the possessor. To the possessor it is much. It is *his all*—this nothing. *His all!* Why, the one vagabond, to whom "it does not matter how he is governed," is perhaps the founder of a great nation. Some vagabond Ishmael whom paternal government drives forth from home into the desert to poverty and despair and death, what right of self-sovereignty has he? what property or interest has he—this Ishmael? He has some property and interest in his own life—he is sovereign prince of that—and of the future ages of an Arab nation, his descendants, the seed from which outgroweth a creed and a dominion to cover one half of the world. *It is something* to this Ishmael what you shall make of his life; something to the world how this *vagabond* shall be governed. It is, indeed, something to every man how he is to be governed—a something of importance, which he cannot put off, an interest he cannot alienate. All men, I repeat, are equal in this matter of requiring government, and having an inter-

est in the how they are governed. Nay, it is of moment to all that all should feel this government. To be equal *before* the law is, then, no more than just. Will you, without consulting me, enact a law which shall control my life, which shall compel my obedience? It is a manifest tyranny. The single despot orders me; his will is law. Spirit of Wycliffe, of Hampden, and of Milton! am I not justified in my resistance to the tyrant? I owe him no allegiance. How much less is it a tyranny, because I am controlled by 658 tyrants—or say 658,000 tyrants, instead of one? The tyranny is the same to me. Fellowmen! leave me my voice in the election of those who are to represent *all of us*; and, if they are honest, their laws are entitled to my obedience. I am morally bound thereto. By excluding me from the election of those who are to act as law-makers for their constituents, you virtually *outlaw* me. I have nothing to do with you. I, your equal, will not be bound by your laws, to which I have not consented. You may compel my obedience, and make me your slave; you cannot make me your subject. I must resist you to the death. Slavery may be upheld by despots' laws; but society only holds together by the concurrent will of all its members. Society is a mutual compact. It is not for a country's peace that any of its members should be outlaws. There is more strength in harmony than confusion. Freemen are stronger, too, than slaves.

Even upon the lowest ground of *tax-qualification*, every member of the State is entitled to a vote in the affairs of the State. Who is not taxed? Every man who works pays taxes. Few among the veriest paupers but have paid taxes at some periods of their lives. The absurd distinction between direct and indirect taxation is the merest subterfuge of one *who desires* to enslave his fellows. Your tax-gatherer's pound is worth twenty shillings, however indirectly or circuitously he may have got it. It will not be worth more than twenty shillings for being the result of a poll-tax or an income-tax. Neither does it at all matter to me—the tax-payer—whether I pay a twenty-shilling tax to my butcher, who passes it to the grazier, who passes it into the pocket of that same collector. Either way,

I pay twenty shillings—just so much—neither more nor less. Either way, the tax-collector has his twenty shillings. And either way, since the tax is collected for the use of the State—including *me* (do not forget that!)—I am entitled to have a voice in the appointment of those who are to state the amount required, and to regulate and fairly apportion the burthen. As to a certain amount of taxation being necessary to qualify a man to be an elector, we need only require that the just sum should be named. Say £5 a year. I shall not make a worse elector because I pay only £4 19s. 11d. a year. And yet, in the one case, I should possess a vote, and in the other none. Should I become more intelligent or moral, or fitter to possess a vote, because I pay a penny more tax—that qualifying penny? Or if, my property decreasing, I pay say twopence less toward the State, must my morality and intellect oscillate with these fluctuations of my property? To allow this would be to set an exact value upon a vote, and give men one or more according to the amount of their several payments. Or call the penny £10,000, how is the case altered? The exclusion of any, the smallest part of the community, for no better pretext than this is utterly ridiculous. It is a robbery of one portion of society by another, without the thinnest colour of justification, without the shallowest defence of reason or common-sense. With an arbitrary tax-qualification, however low, the veriest scoundrel who, by the dirtiest shuffling and trickery, or by fraud and crime, and that most notorious, has acquired the requisite amount of property, a wretch of narrow intellect, utterly depraved and selfish, may enjoy those rights of citizenship from which such men as Shakspeare, Milton, Locke, Newton, and Howard, our country's best and wisest, the beloved and revered of ages, would be excluded, if not qualified by the possession of the precise amount of property. Need another word be added to prove the folly and immorality of a tax or property qualification, that intolerable insult upon the industrious and intelligent poor, which classes them with idiots and criminals, fit only to be ordered or punished by the money-learned or money-moralised rich? Need more be said to prove the justice and necessity of universal suffrage, in order that all, men and women,

may be fairly represented and governed, that irresponsible tyranny may have no place, and that moral beauty and intellectual majesty may no longer be trodden underfoot by the heartless, mindless worshippers of the foul idolatry of wealth?

And, let us ask, who are those who would fix the minimum of a tax-qualification? Whence do they get their authority to decide upon what constitutes a man, upon what shall qualify him to act as a man? After all, a man's life is worth more than five pounds a year, or any amount of direct or indirect taxes you can squeeze out of that life. A Rothschild's money can buy no *rights*. The penniless beggar is a man, too, and has rights that are altogether independent of the tax-gatherer.

There are men who question the expediency of universal suffrage; who allow the abstract right, but dare not reduce the right to practice, certainly not at once—for fear of consequences.

Timid men these, if indeed they are not rather prating knaves whose wish is father to the thought they utter. At the best they are not true men. The notable difference between the true man and the false is this: that the false studies what is expedient for his own little day, having no faith in anything—but only a blind leaning upon his own fear; while the true man dares to utter or do or allow whatsoever he sees to be just, firmly confident in the eternal expediency of justice. Ay, it is always expedient to act justly! Justice takes the best care of consequences. "Let justice be done though the heavens should fall," says a brave proverb. But the heavens will not fall. It is your half-witted fool, who thinks justice "inexpedient," "inconvenient," and the world not quite prepared for it, who would be just "gradually"—it is also he who does all the mischief. Justice is surer-footed. What else is there to be said of the *expediency* of universal suffrage?

But yet what are the objections urged against the immediate public recognition of the principle for which I contend? They are not many. We are told—"The mass of the population is not fit for the exercise of the franchise, they would make a bad use of their freedom!" Dare any say that any class, that any portion

even of the present electors, is either so thoroughly acquainted with the electoral duties, or so perfectly honest, that there is no room for improvement? There is no class exactly fit, if we are to scrutinise severely. And I incline to think that a very large majority of the lowest dregs of the people could not, by their uttermost, make a worse use of the franchise than is now made by a large proportion of the present electors—who surely are sufficiently qualified. But the real question here is:—When will the non-electors be fit for freedom? I answer boldly—Never till they are free; never till they have practised how to use their freedom. Do you learn to walk before you have put your foot to the ground? Can you learn to swim without going into the water? Neither can you learn to act as freemen until you are free. Nothing is learned without practice. If you think otherwise, try to perfect yourself in swimming upon dry land. Even your muscles are only developed by exercise. Take the most delicate man's arm in the world; give it blacksmith's work to do, and muscle will be developed, and the arm will become fitted to its work. None but freemen can fully appreciate freedom; only by practice can come perfectness. And if, as you would fain persuade us, we, the non-electors, are not fit for freedom, while you, the electors, are—is not that some evidence of our doctrine—some evidence that your old-fashioned, exclusive system has not exactly answered? You have had a long enough trial of fitting men for freedom, by keeping them in slavery—teaching them to swim upon dry land. Make an honest plunge and try what the opposite practice will do.

“But”—says another party—a very philosophic party—“give us an educational test of some kind—an educational qualification?” Ha! but there is a difficulty in the way of your wisdoms: who shall be the judges? The whole community? I suppose not. For that would be universal suffrage. Who then? Anyone that has impudence enough to think himself a judge of other men's fitness? His wisdomship lacks some qualifying modesty. Who are to be the judges? The ignorant always think themselves wise enough; the ignorant think none wise but themselves (ask the present electors about that); and even the reputed wise are but too

apt to fall into the same error. "O, prescribe some certain amount of knowledge, such as reading and writing," say you. It is no test at all. There have been not a few men unable to read a line or to write their names, who have yet been much more worthy of electoral trust than many a college-bred scoundrel or clerkly bribe-taker. I know of no scheme more likely to insure confusion and disappointment than this most philosophic test.

"But"—cries out another fearful objector—"what improper characters would be admitted by this universal suffrage." We should have felons, idiots, and the veriest rabble voting. Felons, idiots, and the veriest rabble vote even now—and in a much larger proportion to the whole number of the electors than they would was every man to have his right of citizenship. Universal suffrage would swamp—not the honest men—but the present disproportionate number of fools and felons. Certain limited and select constituencies might be named whose average character could hardly be rendered worse by the admission of all their fellow-citizens. But you have no right to your exceptions until you have allowed the rule. After recognising the universal right, and not till then, would be the proper time for excluding, wholly or temporarily, those who should be proved incapacitated by disease or by outrage upon society.

What other objections? "The confusion attendant upon the collection of so many votes." Is there more confusion in Harwich or in Finsbury during an election? It is not in our largest and most popular constituencies that the greatest disorder prevails, but in your little rotten boroughs. All England may vote in a day, just as easily as St. Nicholas' parish, only give them polling-places enough.

What else? "The lower classes will get the upper hand!" This is the main objection, after all. What if they do? The upper classes have been honest and beneficent: what can they expect but praise and gratitude from their successors in power? Think what claims they have upon the so long unrepresented! If the upper classes had not been honest, that alone would be sufficient reason for dethroning them. If they have robbed the

lower classes, is it not just they should make full restitution? Anyhow, is it just or reasonable that the minority should govern the majority, and that one man should rule six—and that without any pretence or seeming of qualification? Bring your objections, your selfish clings to power, your fears, and your honest scruples, face to face against the broad justice of treating every man as a man, against the clear principle of human equality—such as we have defined it, and answer us. What course should be adopted by an honest citizen, a lover of freedom, and a respecter of the majesty of man?

“Shall we admit paupers too?” I rather think they are admitted now. How many pensioners have we, whose pensions have not been granted for services rendered to the community? These idlest and most impudent of paupers have the privilege of voting, qualified by the nation’s charity; why should not the same charity qualify any other pauper? Besides, when a man has worked some half century, during which time he has received not one tithe of the produce of his toil, it is somewhat hard to deprive him of his manlike place and right of voice, because some turn of trade has robbed him of his scanty savings and prohibited him from continuing to labour. Let his fellow-citizens, before they disenfranchise even him, consider well to what his poverty is owing; whether they, rather than he, may not be really responsible for his inability to support himself; whether unjust and oppressive laws, excessive taxation, or the overgrasping of selfish speculation, reckless of ill means, and others’ ruin, the consequence of wanting that nurture and instruction which it is the duty of a Government to provide for all the governed; let them, I say, well consider whether these may not have reduced the pauper to his state of penury; and let them beware of visiting his misfortunes with punishment, of branding as a crime the suffering by themselves produced, hypocritically claiming credit for the charity that restores to the robbed a scanty means of subsistence out of the competence of which he has been plundered.

But your universal suffrage includes women, too? There can

be no doubt of it. Has not woman the same right as man; the same right of every human creature to the undisputed exercise of its individuality, its natural self-sovereignty? Is there any mark of the male gender in the arguments with which we have striven to enforce the right of human freedom? The question is not which of the sexes is the worthier. Her right remains even if it is allowed (though I, for one, will never allow it) that woman, as a class, is naturally inferior to man. Is not, also, one race of men inferior to another race; one man inferior to another man? Some men, even, inferior to some women? If man has no right to enslave his brother, however inferior, he has also no right to enslave his sister—because inferior. Right is of no sex. The rights of all human creatures are equal, whatever inequality may prevail in the organisation or circumstances of individuals. Man! if thou deniest this, what becomes of thy own rights? Thou assertest that all men have equal rights. Yet all men are not born free from inequality. No two men are alike; one has super-eminent physical strength, another his towering intellect. But thou wilt not, therefore, be the slave of either the man of brawn, or the man of thought. Not of either. Rightly so; for what matters it to thee, O son of man! whether hot-blooded Cain slay thee to satiate his own unbridled savageness, or Iscariot coolly and philosophically sell thee to the same cruelty? Thou wilt not submit to either tyranny. Thou claimest thy right of self-sovereignty, thy right of morality, desiring to become virtuous. This, too, is thy duty; it is “the law of life, the law in accordance with which the rational being preserves, developes, and perfects himself;” thy duty, “because the first of duties is to be and to continue to be human, involving the duty of repelling slavery, which, despoiling a rational being of his (or her) individuality, degrades him (or her) even below the brute.” On the same ground whereupon thou basest thy own claim to freedom, stands by thy side the claim of woman! here upon this moral equality, under this law of life which forbids any man or woman to abdicate the sovereignty of self, or, in other words, to shirk their own responsibility. *Duty* is of no sex. If thou deniest this, go back to the ancient brutal-

ity, crouch before its world-old privilege, confessing thy half-enfranchisement to be an inexcusable rebellion. Let the most muscular again bear rule! Let mere bone and sinew trample upon the God-like! Let the strong-armed savage dash out the brains of Christ, and, laughing in God's face, assert his unquestioned justification—*I am my brother's keeper!* Art thou prepared for this? Either this or the other; either the despotism of the stronger—no matter whether intellectual or muscular, fraud or force—or a full allowance of human kind, of the natural right of all. There is no “*juste-milieu*,” no golden mean, no mid-resting place for a principle. Either God or hell, either the truth or a lie! Thou must choose one of them; or lose thy manhood, degrading thyself to be the slave of expediency, the sport of circumstance, a *thing*, whose false and worthless life Time scornfully tramples out, whose soul dieth hopelessly, unmourned, and without place in the Eternal.

But “women are not fitted for exercising their political rights!” Man! what made you the judge of their fitness? Brute strength, or intellectual overreaching? That same brutality, that same cunning, would entitle the one male despot, or the few male privileged, to judge your fitness, you male aspirant for freedom! Who gave you a right to prescribe “arbitrary formulas” on your “foolish presumptions of capacity?”

But “what use would such rights be to women?” What use are they to men? What use is freedom at all? Or, who art thou that, calling thyself a freeman, or claiming freedom, dardest to doubt the worth and use of freedom? “He who asks of what worth is justice, profanes justice in his heart.”

But, further, “women do not desire this freedom.” So much the wretcheder their condition! Surely there is, at least, one woman who desires to possess the sovereignty of herself, to be free, to be virtuous! Why should that woman be held in slavery because all other women are too debased to know what freedom is, to desire its excellence? We must teach them to desire freedom—the first step toward its attainment. And how long is it since men, too—all save some few lone-standing martyrs, God's

beacons—were satisfied with their slavery? What argument is this of the slave's content? O, that content is the most saddening! It is because the woman-slave has not yet learned to think; because she is too fallen to feel her wrongs; because she wants just self-respect. "We are grieved by the gaiety of the insane. There is a sadness," says Dr. Channing, speaking of the contented negro slave, "in the gaiety of him whose lightness of heart would be turned to bitterness and indignation, were one ray of light to awaken in him the spirit of a man!" Is a woman's insanity less deplorable?

But I will not believe but there are many, many women as ardently desirous as men can be, of the God-like attribute of freedom. A "George Sand" is as free-souled as a Milton.

But "the political enfranchisement of women does not appear desirable to men!" And when did enfranchisement ever appear desirable to tyrants?

But, the "consequences" are objected. Perceiving the right, what has an honest man to do with consequences? "He who calculates the cost of liberty has already renounced liberty in his heart." Liberty is beyond all price. Do good, and good will ensue! "Believe in the might of justice, and in this faith shall be your safety!" Neither be deterred by any presupposed absurdity in such consequences; absurd only because they contrast with your own accustomed foolishness. To talk about "better be mending their husbands' stockings," is mere gabble, the sneering speech of dull fools; coming with little grace from those who mouth out sycophantic praise of the supremacy of a queen. Are these the men to sneer at a woman's incapacity? Note one thing—that it is the very characteristic of ignorant folly to sneer at whatever is not in accordance with its ignorance.

Above all things beware, lest, from surrendering the rights of women, thou become careless of the rights of thy fellow-men; lest thy love of freedom degenerate into a mere lust of self-interest, to be satisfied with household suffrage, or any other suffrage that will include thyself: and so thou not only render thyself unworthy of freedom, but also impede thy own attainment of it. For prin-

ciple is the strongest lever. What disinterestedness or devotion to freedom has he who so pertinaciously maintains a despotic authority at home? How can he love justice for its own beauty's sake, what dependence shall we place on him, who acts unjustly to his own family, denying even to the one nearest and dearest to him that self-sovereignty and liberty he so earnestly claims for himself?

Briefly to sum up our several arguments :—I have endeavoured to show how the right of universal suffrage is based upon the natural equality of humankind, and upon the equal interest which every member of society, every contributor to the support of society, has in ordering the social procedure. I deem universal suffrage to be expedient, because it is right ; because men must practise freedom before they can be fully worthy of it ; because, too, there is no party with any just title to the exclusive possession of the franchise, no party qualified to decide as to the fitness of others ; because, further, I think the present limited constituency contains a larger proportion of knaves and fools than would be comprised in a constituency including the whole population ; and because I have no fear of the domination or undue influence of our labouring population, or of any confusion to arise from the widest spread of political justice. For the same reasons of justice and expediency I would neither deprive the pauper, the worn-out and plundered labourer, of his place of manhood ; nor withhold from woman her equally-established birthright of self-sovereignty and humanity : aware that if we once swerve from the great principle of equal right, of respect for the rights of others, we sink into mere lusts after self-interest, and debase ourselves to be slaves in soul, however invested with the outward opportunities of freedom. And I would object to any mere instalment, compromise or shifty arrangement ; for I am convinced that any reform that is not based upon equal right will be, and must be, a cheat and a hindrance to the full advent of liberty.

POSTSCRIPT.

After all, the main question is not merely how we shall choose our masters. The main question is to have no masters at all: to rule ourselves.

I care not for universal suffrage to-morrow *if* we must stop short at that, *if* we must consider it as the end. What great value will it be to us, to be allowed to elect our masters once a year? Or what use to change them every year?

They who make the laws are the masters. Let the people make their own laws! It is not only a reform in our representative system which we require; but the doing away with our representative system altogether.

Laws can be made only by four classes of men. Tyrants, representatives, delegates, or the people themselves meeting in their assemblies.

Of tyrants, pure, absolute despots, I need say nothing; but of the farce of representation let us have some thought. Say you choose your representative by universal suffrage. For twelve months he acts in the name of a majority. He may consult their views or not, they may know his views or not. If he is a representative he stands in their place. He makes the laws for them, not consulting their will upon every special occasion, but acting as he thinks best. What is he but an elected tyrant? I care not for how short a time his tyranny may last; I care not how good he may be. If you place the power in his hands he is your master, at least for so long as you have elected him: it may be for longer. Witness the doings of the representatives elected by universal suffrage in France. It is a mere farce this electing of our tyrants.

And I deny that my will can be represented. My will needs to be exercised upon every legislative occasion. Even during the one year unforeseen occasions will arise. How could I delegate my will to another, when my will was not even determined? Yes! "representation" is a farce. The representative must be either a tyrant or a mere delegate.

Would you have a mere delegate ; one that upon every occasion shall consult his constituents ? Then of what use is he ? If the constituency is to meet to express an opinion upon every law, what remains for the delegate to do ? To receive their instructions, and to give his vote in the House under cover of the ballot, or openly impudent, clean contrary to the instructions of his constituents ? Is this a delegate's use ? What else, but to register his constituents' decrees ?

Choose representatives, and be they never so honest to those who have elected them, they, or at best the majority of the day of election, are masters upon all subjects for a year to come. To-day the uppermost question may be to repel Papal Aggression, and a majority of townsmen elect a respectable quaker for that purpose ; but before the year of Parliament is over the question of a Russian war comes before the House ; and there may not be half-a-dozen of all the quaker's majority disposed to trust him to represent them on that ground.

Let the people make their own laws. So upon every occasion the true majority will be found. It is never found now. So there will never be a stationary minority to complain of their exclusion from power. I, in a minority upon one question, will be in a majority upon another : and so the true sense of the country be ascertained upon every point.

Our radical reformers are just an age too late. Nay, even Chartism lagged far behind the need. The direct sovereignty of the people : that is our requisition. Toward that the time is marching. Everything short of that is tyranny under some disguise or other. We want absolute freedom : the freedom of the Republic. We take universal suffrage only as the first step !

CHAPTER IV.

METHODS OF GOVERNMENT.

Local Government. Constitutional Government. Fitness for the Franchise. Working Men's Combinations—Strikes and Co-operative Associations. The Policy of Strikes—The Policy of the Men—The Policy of the Masters—The Policy of the Nation.

Local Government.

IN the Republic all matters really national are ruled by the whole people ; every adult man and woman taking a direct part in the national sovereignty. But the whole people, the nation, need not be convoked to manage the affairs of every parish, nor of the county.

The right of the individual is sacred. And individual right stands not only in the homestead, but in the transactions of the individual with those immediately surrounding him—his neighbours.

How neighbours, the members of the State in their several localities, shall arrange their local affairs is their own business, not the business of the State.

As the individual perfects his own life, grows, not dictated to by any—as the family, the completer individual, orders its life, uninterfered with by authority ; so, and to the same extent, the little knot of neighbouring individuals or families may be left to direct its own affairs. The State is the harmoniser of the whole ; does, with its combined power, that of which the isolated families or local groups of families are incapable, but does not pretend to dictate their lives.

Each sphere perfects itself so far as it can. What it can do of itself, unaided, it does. For what it can not do by itself it has the assistance of the whole.

The will of all (the majority), which is the power of the State, protects one part from another, harmonises the several parts, and gives the multiplied strength of concert where concert may be needed. The whole and the part; each has its domain in the Republic, and neither may encroach upon the province of the other.

To determine the nation's conduct toward other States, to utter the national idea of right and wrong, to organise religious worship and education, to protect (by preventing the monopoly of land and capital) the rights of labour and property, to fix the amount of taxation for national purposes, to hold the national purse, and to superintend the maintenance of justice in all corners of the land; these matters come within the function of the State; these are the business of the sovereign people—not of any fraction of them. Beyond these things, rather within and subordinate to them, are the affairs of the locality—call it county, city, or parish.

The laws are made by the whole people. The business of the national delegates (or parliament), except the ordering of international relations, is only to draw up projects of law for the consideration of the people (not, therefore, denying the people's right of initiation), to frame laws after the popular will, and to appoint and control the officers of State charged with the conduct of foreign affairs, and with the superintendence of national matters.

The superintendence only in the administration of the law, the actually carrying on of public business in the first instance rests with the local authorities.

In the same manner, therefore, as the people choose their delegates, their clerks and overseers of the public service, so will they elect their district officers and councils to do the actual work of the nation and to conduct the business of each locality. They will choose directly their own magistrates, the directors of the district banks, bazaars, and store-houses, the superintendents of

home colonies, the schoolmasters and mistresses, and the town or district council.

These town or district councils (or local parliaments) will appoint the inferior public servants, such as police, collectors, clerks, etc., and elect their own mayor or chairman.

The councils will supervise the management and audit the accounts of the schools, banks, etc.—conduct the popular assemblies for the consideration of national and local laws, and for the election of national and local officers; take charge of the infirm and aged; collect the national taxes, and care for the maintenance of national ways, and the erection of national works. In these matters they will be the agents of the State and directly responsible to it.

But besides carrying out the national programme, they will also conduct the local business of their districts; the association of labour, police arrangements, the formation of bye-roads, the erection of buildings for district purposes, lighting, cleansing, and improving, and the collection of the taxes voted by the people for all these needs.

All these things are strictly within the province of the local Government, and concerning them the State has no jurisdiction save as a court of appeal, so long as they do not counteract the general scheme and rule of the whole nation.

The organisation of the local Government will be on the same principle as that of the national; the whole adult population will be the sovereign. They, meeting in the assemblies, will express their wants, their will, and elect their servants to carry out that will. And as in the nation, so in the district all persons will be eligible for office.

Several councils will meet together, as a County Council, when necessary to advise together on matters concerning several districts.

Their proceedings will be always public, and their acts open to the censure of the people.

The inhabitants of several districts, say a county, will also confer together upon special occasions, trusting, however, the ordinary

routine of business, police, etc., not needing an express vote, to the general assembly of district magistrates in the County Council.

There will no longer be any purchasing of freedom. Every one will be at liberty to establish himself in any part of town or county, and to immediately take his place as part of the district sovereignty. There will no longer be monopolies of corporations, nor absurd divisions of closely connected interests, nor privileges of levying tolls and taxes. The people (the whole adult population) in their several localities will make their own laws and provide for their own needs.

As to the extent of the districts, our present parishes will need equalizing; so that while, on the one hand, the population should not be so large as to render their association and management difficult and complicated, so neither should it be so small as to occasion a poverty of means of concert or to preclude sufficient room for choice of efficient servants. The districts, also, will be more compact, not running one into another, crossing and interlying, as our parishes often do now. A district of some five or ten thousand families (the town districts having perhaps the larger population) might provide for all requirements.

For time that would be wanted to choose officers and make laws for the localities, we have still the now unused Sundays. Men and women meeting in their places of worship—or worthship—would find the same occasion apt both for religiously framing their laws and ordinances—national and local—and for electing their servants and administrators.

For our colonies the same rule would apply: with the exception that the colonies would have part in the nation and in the national rule only until they acquired sufficient power to need no longer the help of the parent country. They would be to all intents and purposes as parts of the nation, until they acquired sufficient strength to assert their independence; an independence which the home Government would assist to hasten.

They would stand in the position of sons, who are a part of the family in their youth, but who in their manhood take care of

themselves, and of whose independence no wise parent can be jealous.

It seems the more important to define exactly what are matters of local Government, and what properly appertain to the central authority, when a large number of men, calling themselves constitutionalists, and some hanging on the skirts of Republicanism, are running a-muck about the word *centralisation*, and so are liable to fall into the opposite extreme of anarchy.

We want a central power ; how else shall we preserve the unity of the nation ? But that central power must spring directly from the people, and be only the minister of the sovereign people, having its functions clearly prescribed.

In a word, we want organisation ; that unity of national power, for the sake of the unity and consistency of national action, which is compatible with the most perfect freedom of localities and individuals.

Anarchy is not perfect freedom. The Republic cares for the whole, as well as for the parts.

Constitutional Government.

Constitutionalism is but a halting place between despotism and the Republic. It is the transition state of nations.

Over despotism—it has one immense advantage : Between the governors and the governed (when these are two different classes) there is always war. Under a despotism it is the war of the sword or of the dagger.

Constitutionalism substitutes for this a war of words, the liberty of speech, the opportunity of freely expressing one's thought, the appeal to reason instead of to brute force alone : this is surely an immense advance in the progress of humanity. And this is the result of that compromise between arbitrary rule and universal right, which is called constitutional Government.

Nevertheless, constitutional Government is but a compromise. And a compromise is never final. Between two opposing principles there must be war—until one entirely swallows up the other.

Whatever compromises, truces or conventions, may suspend the war or alter the mode of warfare, the two opponent principles, Monarchy and Republicanism, must fight out their irreconcilable quarrels.

Constitutional Government is a compromise. So long as both parties are content to keep to the terms of that compromise, so long the compromise will last.

And most constitutions have in them a remarkable elasticity, a capability of stretching to an indefinite extent, if the framers of the constitution or those who find their advantage therein are wise enough to make use of it, with never so little recognition of the new powers continually outgrowing ancient bounds.

Constitutional Government is a compromise between private or class tyranny and the sovereignty of the whole people. By the governing it was invented as a sort of capitulation. It was Monarchy, like the beaver in the fable, biting off a desired morsel, to save its life from the hunters. If the hunters could be content with morsels—constitutional Government might be a finality.

But it has been accepted by the people only because the people was not able to lay hold on more. The people will hunt Monarchy to the death. It is only a little time that has been gained for monarchs by all their charters and constitutions.

Even the great gain of constitutionalism, that of substituting argument for force, reason for bloodshed, is not absolute. The governing powers have not kept faith with us. They have everywhere disarmed the people; and though they allow us only the constitutional means of petition and remonstrance, they still uphold their own authority by the red hand. So the constitutional compromise has come to be only a trick, a delusion, and a snare.

We pile up our arms the while, we read the charter, and are shot down by armed constitutional Monarchy if we dare speak too loudly of its provisions.

For a compromise, or a treaty, to be final, it must be based on enduring principles. Upon what is constitutionalism based? Upon no principles at all.

Monarchy was beset; the people pressed so hard upon it that

it cried out for a breathing while—and the people, not knowing the monarch's weakness or its own strength, consented to the truce.

From the days of the "good Sir Simon" till now, our history has been a succession of these truces, broken by either side when it felt itself strong enough. Why not? There could be no peace between the antagonists. There never can be. One must destroy the other.

The principle of Monarchy is Divine right; the assertion of an exceptional superiority.

The principle of Republicanism, which is the sovereignty of the whole, utterly denies any exceptional superiority; asserts the equal right of all humanity.

Between yes and no—how can there be any lasting compromise? Monarchy, it is true, no longer believes in its right. "By the grace of God" may still be stamped on the current coin, but they do not believe it at the Royal Mint.

"By the grace of God" means now by the allowance of the people—that is to say, so long as the people can be kept in ignorance and unarmed.

The first charter granted by a king (that is to say, forced from him; for kings grant no freedom but on compulsion) was the death warrant of Monarchy. It was the acknowledgment of the falsehood of Divine right, the admission of the popular lever which will not rest till the throne be overturned.

Constitutional monarchs reign by the grace of the people; that is to say, the popular right is above the regal.

The constitutional monarch is not sovereign, but sovereign's substitute, *locum tenens* for the people, till the people is wise enough to rule itself.

Governments, now-a-days, do not scruple to own this; nay, put it impudently as preamble to their most arbitrary acts. They calculate upon the blindness of the people, which seldom cares to see that what it allows it could not disallow.

Monarchy exists only on sufferance.

These are the two principles—the equal sovereignty of the whole

people on the ground of natural and inalienable right, and the sovereignty of a part of the people on the ground of some exceptional right.

The Divine right of the old monarchists was intelligible enough, but is now altogether exploded. The only new ground that has been found out by the learned is that of the constitution. But the constitution is only a convention between the people and the monarch. The people may be weak enough to put up with a limited monarchy, or the monarch may be content with his limitations, but no such convention or content can alter the nature of things. A compromise between two principles does not make one a whit less false or the other a jot less true than either was before the compromise.

Monarchy or Republicanism, the usurpation of a part or the rightful sovereignty of the whole ; these two adverse principles remain at issue during all your compromises. The battle must be fought out, the false principle must be overthrown : or there is no strength in truth and God's great law of justice is at fault.

But when two parties make a truce they should abide by it. It depends on the terms of the truce.

Monarchy and popular sovereignty (Republicanism) are as opposite as black and white. If the truce stands only as an admission that black with a slight tinge of grey is the same thing as white ; then one would say such a truce can not last.

Whatever number of men may for a time and special purpose assent to such a mis-statement, the common sense and conscience of all men must one day repudiate it. If the truce is solely on the ground that neither party is at this present strong enough to utterly crush the other, then any accession of strength on either side is sufficient reason and justification for the resumption of hostilities. Monarchy has never let its strength lie idle.

Between whom has the compromise of constitutional Government been made? Between the people desirous of freedom, but too weak to conquer its full freedom, and too ignorant (even had it been stronger) to know what the fulness of freedom really is, and this or that monarch, or monarchical class, whose sole object

was to obtain for itself the longest possible renewal of its lease of power.

The liberal monarchs who have granted charters and constitutions have been very wise in their generation, and the peoples, perhaps, for the time being, could have done no better than they did.

What have we to do with that? The bargains made by the men of former times are not binding upon the men of the present. If we are wiser or stronger than of old, let us take the advantage of it. If formerly they voted black to be white, or consented to the constitutional middle term—calling grey white—what is that to us? That did not alter the natural opposition between black and white, between the darkness of tyranny and the sunny light of freedom.

Whatever might have been satisfactory in dark ages, how are we bound to dwell in the twilight?

One thing is apparent on the face of every constitution—a recognition of the peoples' consent, instead of the old pretence of Divine prescription, as the ground of monarchical authority. The only safe ground of Monarchy is so cut away. The new position is untenable. If yesterday the people, in the exercise of its right, consented, to-day the people may withdraw its consent. The House of Brunswick came in by the choice, or, more exactly speaking, by the permission of the people.

If the people are necessary to permit its coming in, the people may permit its going out. If Monarchy exists only by the consent of the people, the people may at any time vote the abolition of Monarchy. The sovereignty rests with the people; more than that, being natural to the people and inalienable, it can only be abdicated by an act of high treason against humanity. Monarchy therefore exists only in virtue of a vicious compromise between the peoples' conscience and the peoples' ignorance or weakness. Our argument is strictly constitutional.

But constitutionalism is not merely to be assailed on the ground of its instability; it is objectionable for the very reason that every compromise is—namely, because it weakens faith in principles, deadens the conscience and confuses the understanding.

Men have so long submitted to compromise that it seems to them like a normal state.

Constitutionalists too have been crafty. They not only disarmed the people, but they also took care that the liberty of speech, which was to be instead of other weapons, should be of as little avail as possible.

In this country they have given all the "better classes" an interest in the Government; and to the people they have left the power of petitioning their Parliament. The potency is about equal whether the petition lies on or under the Commons' Table. They have brought up the people too in a blind belief that the overthrow of the constitution ought only to be accomplished through constitutional means, none of which are available: and so the transition state seems more durable than was at first to be expected.

Trusting to petitions and to parliamentary formulas, unarmed, without conscience or daring, hoodwinked with the pretence of Government being installed by popular consent, and blind to the social consequences of Government, in the hands of a class—the people of this free Monarchy (the very expression is contradictory) seems likely to enjoy its constitution for another generation or two at least. It is content to wait till its master enlarge the girth.

This is the sad and silly expectation of reform originating in Parliament. The classes that now hold exclusive legislative power know too well the material advantages of that to give it up of their own accord.

If ever reform shall commence with them, it can be only to supersede and prevent revolution from without. It is the fable of the beaver again: a fable always lost upon the people, which ever stops the chase at the smallest instalment, and cheers the wonderful liberality of the fugitive.

There is as little honesty or attention to principle as there is wisdom in the popular proceeding.

But so it will continue to be till the people has become wise enough to see that to make the laws for a nation is to rule the life of that nation and the lives of every one within it; till it has

fully learned that its sufferings, its misery, its degradation, are nearly all the natural consequences of its slavery ; till it has sense enough to perceive that it is slavery to be under any master whatever ; and till it finds conscience, and through conscience, courage enough to refuse any compromise between right and wrong. Then the people will renew the too-long intermitted fight against Monarchy (for the petty skirmishes of your radical Reformers have been only stretchings of the constitutional compromise), and Revolution will bring in the Republic. Or it may be only a Democracy. The difference between Democracy and Republicanism will be worth our further consideration.

Fitness for the Franchise.

The perfection of a State is when every subject may be trusted, when every subject is a capable and willing servant.

We speak to honest men. Argument would be thrown away upon thieves who are afraid of justice because of their vested interest in wrong. But to honest men there can be no more important question than this—how to obtain the perfection of the State, when every man shall be trustworthy, and the nation's work well done.

Let us accept the worst possible position. Not that which actually subsists—which is, that the unrepresented are quite as politically trustworthy as the represented, and that, however unfit they may be to exercise the franchise, there is, at least, not the proved unfitness of some of those who now exercise it. But let us go to the extreme. Let us suppose that household suffrage shall be carried, that only about a million of the people shall be excluded, that this million men shall be of notorious ignorance, exposed to all the temptations of poverty, and evidently every way unfitted to make good use of the franchise.

The problem still remains—the perfecting of our State. Our State is not sound nor secure, with these million men which may not be trusted. How shall we fit them to become good citizens ?

We would educate them.

Would we educate a child (if by education we mean anything beyond supplying it with the merest tools of knowledge), we endeavour, in the first place, to obtain the child's confidence. Would you go a different way to work with the wilful grown man? You must have his confidence before he will learn of you. Confidence springs from confidence. If you will not trust him, how shall he trust you? You will have his soul in your hands that you may mould it to what you think a fitness for freedom, and you have no ground upon which to ask him to trust you with it but this offensive assertion of yours—that he is not fit to be trusted. At the very outset of your work you make him look on you as an enemy.

But say you can get over this. What is the first thing you have to teach him? The ground upon which you base that duty to society, the knowledge whereof can alone qualify him (on your fitness theory) to become a freeman. Upon what do you base duty to society, if not upon the oneness, the solidarity of human life; the consequent relation of parts to the whole, and the necessity of harmony among those parts? Upon what do you base duty except on justice? But ignorance is often shrewd. Your unfit million will point to your practical definition of justice—the inequality of your two classes—the “fit” and the “unfit;” will laugh at your “oneness of Humanity,” while you insist on the distinction separating you and them.

Suppose you escape this too; that, even more ignorant than we gave them credit for being, they trust you, and take your word that your divided state of tutelage is the right preparation for national unity. Are you any forwarder? You may preach till doomsday, you may cram them with political justice, you may choke them with your lessons; but how know you when they are fit? How prove their fitness except by practice? Will not they say to you: In so difficult a matter as this, one needing so much fitness and preparation for fitness, is practice altogether unimportant? Can theory be so all-sufficient that we may become masters in the art without any opportunity for even a first trial? The duties of a citizen are then something easier than hedging and

ditching ; for we needed practice to fit us there, and all the theoretical apprenticeships in the world had not served us so much as one day with the spade in our hands. And if we can be so easily fitted, is not that sufficient condemnation of our long exclusion ? Swimming is not learned on dry land ; to acquire the poorest handicraft needs some hand-endeavour ; would you only fit yourself to cut notches, you take a stick and knife, and try ; but this duty of citizenship for which we must become qualified is so much easier that to learn the rules and theory is quite enough. Fix a time then, say, three months hence, for issuing your diplomas, and meanwhile furnish us with the fitting political horn-books and catechisms of citizen-duties, and settle this simple business in a practical way. Do not force us, ignorant as we are, to see that your talk of fitness is a mere excuse for keeping us out of power as long as possible ; or, at best, a pedantic absurdity, the fallacy of which is perceptible to any unsophisticated mind.

The poor ignorant man excluded on the score of unfitness may have yet more to say to you. I know, sir, I am unfit. I know how unfit I am to perform even those first duties of a son, a husband, and a father. Why did not your kindness prevent my coming into the world till I was fit to be a dutiful and worthy child ? Why do you not prohibit me also from marriage ; or take my children away till I shall become fit to rear them ? What I know of these duties of life (and, sir, I may modestly say I know something ; many ignorant men, poor, and open to temptation, are yet not bad sons, bad husbands, or bad fathers) :—what I know of these duties of life I have learned by practice, for, as you are aware, I cannot read, and my little Sunday school “learning” went but a small way in the theory. By practice I have learned these duties ; by practice I shall learn to step beyond. I have some thought too about my duty to my country ; let me work out that thought. Cease to tell me I am unfit for this or that to which you have never put me. Cease to wonder that while a slave I cannot work freely. That I ask for freedom is surely some proof of at least a preparatory fitness, proof of fitness greater than his who *has* freedom and yet so little values it that he hesitates to let it

fill the world. Let God who made no life a mere appendage, who made no soul the mere moulding-clay of another, let Him judge between us, between me who desire freedom in order that I may endeavour to do a man's duty, though my hope may not yet have scaled all the heights of that, and you who, having freedom, can talk so poorly and ignorantly of it, making it only the reward of certain virtuous or learned proficiency of this or that man, forgetful that it is itself the very soil of virtue and true wisdom. Your theory of fitting men for freedom is a denial of the very worth of freedom, for if men can become virtuous, wise, and happy, under others' guardianship, that is to say, in slavery (most despots think themselves beneficent guardians), then of what use is freedom at all?

Why want you freedom for yourself? As a mere personal gain? Nay, but as the ground in which you may grow to your fullest height of uprightest manhood. Because you feel that slavery is not fit for man; because you know (or you know nothing) that a slave cannot be a man. Be honest then. If you would be free, why not others, even to the lowest? Or are you in the plenitude of your fitness afraid of grappling with these poor, ignorant, unfit wretches to whom you deign to offer so condescending a patronage? Are they ignorant and vicious, let your virtuous capability scorn the undue advantage of a gaoler's manacles. Is it for your sake or theirs you would wait their fitness? Your own? Thou slave in soul, that echoest so vilely the old egotism of the long line of tyrants: but theirs. Mind thine own business; do thy duty, set them the example; that and the opportunity of following virtue will fit them better and more quickly than the most cultivated and assisted waiting. Again we say, will you teach them faith in Humanity, love of Humanity, duty toward Humanity, by your practical doubt of Humanity?

But, "give them the franchise, these ignorant men, and they will not use it." At least you are innocent of the sin of preventing them. Point at them as deserters and dishonourable if they will not use it. Having done your part, and they free to do theirs, you can speak with weight. You point idly now, your words are

nought, because now the franchise is held as a privilege and not as a duty. Make its exercise an universal duty and there will be no skulking-place for any.

Would we enfranchise also the thousands of vagabonds of London, the vagabonds (number altogether unknown) of the rest of the country? Yes, so long as they are not absolutely under sentence for crime. If they only *have been* guilty, what then? Is not punishment expiatory? Are they still capable of crime? So is every one, more or less. Are they houseless, ignorant and deformed? We have argued all that before. It is not altogether their fault; but the fault in some measure (dare you calculate in what measure?) of society. It is a good law maxim that one may not build a superstructure on his own wrong-doing. Social justice would not give them the surety of a house, nor the education which had been a guarantee for moral pravity: social justice has no right to plead the consequences of its own neglect in bar of their enfranchisement. Perhaps social justice will see better to social interests when these pariahs shall be armed with the legal power for good and evil. But "the mistakes they will commit," will be their own—their best education. Are you afraid again? Well, you may be, for you have let men grow up worse than beasts, and you may well shudder at putting a man's weapon—political freedom—in their hands. Yet dare to do it. Those whom you have dared to trust will learn to trust you. Your sincerest zeal to educate, even the most unfit, will be quickened when their mistakes tell in the balance of public will. You will be compelled then to set your hand to things which may well wait now while so much wants filling. Only dare be just, and know what many of your poor, unlettered, "unfit" slaves can tell you, that God upholdeth *honest* wisdom.

Is there any wisdom that is not honest?

Working-men's Combinations—Strikes and Co-operative Associations.

Strikes are to be considered from two points of view: their *morality* and their *policy*.

Morality. Workmen have a clear right to combine, whether for less work, more wages, or other honest purposes. They have a right also to adopt any measures in themselves moral, to make their combination effective. Free association, by honest means to achieve an honest end, is a natural right : and consequently moral, whatever law may forbid it. But coercion is not a right. Men have no right to compel others to associate. To do so is to violate individual freedom.

Policy. At the best strikes are endeavours at an unequal combat ; like trying to make ten combined shillings a match for a single sovereign. The naked workman, with at least one hand tied, challenges his armed master. No strike can be more than temporarily successful. No series of successful strikes can establish a sound state of labour. A strike of 200 men may seriously injure the master ; but that is not the end. The question is between their means and his. They have saved £2000 ; and he has £2000. It is a simple calculation to find which must be starved out first—the combined workmen with £10 each, or the one master with £2000. As 10 is to 2000, so is the chance of success to the policy of the strike ; albeit sometimes a master will give way, and wait for his revenge. Nor is this all the odds against a workman. The 200 workmen will not easily find work elsewhere : the master's capital is almost certain of employment. At most he suffers only a fine, while the men risk life. And outside this foul-matched duel stands the Law, the master's creature, to maintain the unequal conditions, to interfere if the workman overstep by one inch the ill-defined legal bounds within which alone the master consents to fight him. Whatever principles may be involved in the issue, though to hang back should prove the workman wanting in commonest manly courage and sense of duty, still these odds remain the same, still ever the same is the *impolicy* of this method of contention.

Co-operative Associations are open to the same objection. They are but a less openly offensive way of warring against the capitalist. Let the labour of 200 men represent a capital of £2000, yielding in full work, say ten per cent. a week, or twenty shillings

a week for each shareholder. The rival capitalist is worth precisely the same. When work is slack the association falls short of very necessities, while the capitalist has only to discharge so many men. Let that particular branch of trade be ruined, and, while the capitalist takes his money to a new venture, the combined workmen are scattered, and have each to learn a new occupation. And again, as if these difficulties are not enough, the Law takes part with the capitalist; hindering at every turn the most legitimate partnerships of members. Doubtless when a co-operative association can succeed, it is an immense advantage to the workmen; and here and there one may succeed under some specially favourable circumstances. But it is folly to suppose that with the tremendous odds against them they can ever be made to beat the combination of capitalists and transform the condition of society.

To contend or compete with the masters, on any likelihood of general success, the workmen *must have capital*. They can never acquire *sufficient* capital under the present system. So, like a horse in a mill, they go round in a vicious circle. The only hope is in the State supplying such capital as may be needed to redeem labour from the profit-mongers. And the State will only do this when the State shall mean the whole People, when political power shall be in the hands of all.

The Policy of Strikes.

The policy of strikes has three divisions; the policy of the men, the policy of the masters, and the policy of the nation, which is as much, if not as directly interested in the question.

The policy of the men. In the first place it is not fit that either mothers or children should have to work in factories. The mothers ought to be caring for their families; the children ought to be at school. Strike off the labour of mothers and children, and see if the wages of the husband and father are sufficient for the decent, Christian, respectable maintenance of his family. I

they are not, and in most cases they are not, we should be ashamed of the man who would not strike for higher wages ; for such wages as will give him means for a manly life out of working hours, and means to bring up his children as the sons of God should be brought up. But will the strike give him higher wages ?

Perhaps it may only prevent them from sinking yet lower. That too is worth a brave man's struggling for. Men are forced into strikes. They must fight, or be ground down to the lowest. They suffer now a life unworthy of men, and if they do not strike, either a rise in provisions or a lowering of wages renders their condition yet more slave-like, beast-like and unendurable.

It is idle to talk of the policy of conduct so compelled. Between them and their employers, while the present system continues, it is a fight from first to last.

The policy of the masters is certainly to put down strikes if they can. It would be best policy to deal more fairly with their men, to treat them—as some few manufacturers have shown that they can well and wisely do—as human beings, their brethren, their equals under God, whatever inequalities may be established by law. But trade is sordid ; “ a shilling a week from so many of you makes a small fortune for me ; if I paid you well enough, for you to live like men, to keep your wives at home, and your children at the school, my palace might be but a comfortable home.”

The master may not reason so, but he does so. Is it of any use to talk to him of policy in the face of such an interest ? His policy is to make a fortune.

But the policy of the nation ? Has the nation no concern in this intestine war ? Has the nation no policy ? It would seem not ; if the Secretary of State for the Home Department may be taken as its mouthpiece ; and of course the Government being the servant of the nation, its accredited Representative, the Home Secretary's word is national. As a member of the Government, in virtue of his official position, he does not possess sufficient information, nor any right or power to interfere in the matter.

Will he return such answer when the masters memorialise him for troops to put down the men who may not be else reduced even by the force of starvation? the only argument that can be brought to bear upon a turn-out.

The non-intervention policy at home is then quite consistent with the same infamous policy abroad; non-intervention when justice or when weakness cries for aid, and prompt assistance when stronger wrong fears to suffer inconvenience.

It is not the true policy of a nation to have two classes of its subjects in a state of perennial warfare. It is the true policy of a nation to put down that at any cost; to get for itself (without waiting for memorialists) exact information as to the points in dispute; and to bring the force of the national will to decide between the combatants.

If the men are in the wrong, let them be put down, though bayonets be needed; if, as we think, the masters are in the wrong—let them then be coerced, even though they only be for the State to stand forth as capitalists to assist the men in becoming independent of capitalists.

If there be wrong on both sides, let the State insist upon fair and equal arbitration.

So one, at least, might argue if there was any nation to take concern in the matter. But so many men scattered over English land, without common faith, without care for right, without that equality—wanting which there is no real union without understanding or desire of a community of interest; so many English Ishmaels scattered over English soil do not constitute an English nation. If there was a nation it would have a Government, and a Government is something more than a private "coalition."

But the policy of strikes. Do you think it good? Not good but unavoidable. Would that strikes were not necessary, that our working-men, and some honest masters too, might have time to see the one only step toward a remedy for all class grievances and quarrels, all these constantly recurring dissensions which drive our best to other lands, and leave our England to decrepitude and a deathly shame.

That one step is the meeting of men and masters upon equal terms, not merely to patch up this present strife, not merely to negotiate some hollow truce, some few years' peace, on the ground of a new system of arbitration—futile while the law is in the master's hands ; but as man with man to decide upon the laws of labour, to regulate the whole government of the country.

The working classes must be law makers with the other classes before there can be any security for them from the rapacity of the hard employer, or any certainty of a fair day's wage for a fair day's work. Till then, God help them in their unequal fight.

CHAPTER V.

THE REPUBLIC AND DEMOCRACY.

Democracy and the Republic. Socialism and Communism. Are the Socialists Republicans ?

Democracy and Republicanism.

THE difference between a Democracy and a Republic !

Athens called itself a Democracy. The people were "masters," but did not rule. There was liberty, but not *equality*. The inequality of class distinctions was still maintained as the normal condition of society, and the liberty was for the freeman only. The Athenian Democracy kept slaves.

The little Swiss Cantons of Zug and Uri are in the form of their government purely democratic ; but alongside of the popular power stands the priestly influence. Zug and Uri are Catholic, and the outward manifestation of universal suffrage is found to accord very well with the papacy, when the Jesuits rule the consciences of the suffrages. These Catholic "Democracies" are theocracies of slaves.

America—we are told—is a Democracy. How so ? Freedom is not universal ; equality does not exist. If there is neither a royal nor a noble class, there is yet the worst monarchy and aristocracy of mere wealth ; and for freedom—the adult population has just the freedom of changing its masters at every election for Congress. Nothing more than that 250,000 slaveholders at the South rule the decisions of Congress, said Theodore Parker ; and by means of mere wealth one-eightieth

part of the population controls all the rest. Republican America is not even a Democracy.

A real Democracy is an *assemblage* of the free where every adult has an equal right, an equal place, an equal voice. A Republic is an organisation of the free. One is freedom, the other is freedom turned to its right use. A real Democracy is the beginning of a Republic; but a sham Democracy, like that of Athens, or that of Uri, or that of the United States of America, is not the beginning of the Republic.

In 1848 they proclaimed "the French Republic." It was not a Republic, but a Democracy, and not perfect as a Democracy, for the women half of the population was left unenfranchised; and real power was not put in the hands of even the enfranchised moiety. The men of France were not the rulers of France; they only chose the rulers. To be sure they called them representatives; but—"a rose by any other name would smell as sweet." A master is not less a master for being called something else.

The French Democracy chose an Assembly of Representatives, the most of whom were traitors to France. Tired of them, the Democracy chose the worst traitor of all, the vilest knave in France, not of course this time as representative. They gave his odourousness another name.

Democratic France has not shown itself very Republican.

Aristocracy is the governing power in the hands of the few. Now-a-days the few take care to exercise it. In old time they chose a feudal representative, and found he was a master. In later times they have avoided this folly. They now only put a man of show upon the throne, just to fill the place and keep each other out. The power in their hands they use, trusting to deputy. When they allow their man of show a voice, it is only that the people may be deceived into thinking the guy alive, and so be uncertain who their real masters are.

Democracy is the governing power in the hands of the many. Why should not the many use it? Power unused is not better than impotence. Simply to choose one's masters is not freedom. Democracy becomes merely an idle word if it stops at deputing its

powers into the hands of an Aristocracy. It is not really Democracy when a "representative" Aristocracy rules, no matter how democratically appointed, chosen, or deputed. American Democracy has no reality while "one-eightieth part of the population controls all the rest."

A real Democracy—an assemblage of the really free—is the beginning of the Republic. The free are assembled together, not merely by standing anarchically one against another, each on his abstract right, till a few, if only an eightieth part wiser than the rest, combine and enslave the whole—but to turn their freedom to its full account, by organising all their powers for the good of the whole.

This organisation of the powers of all, for the good of the whole—this good of all, by all, for the government of all—is the Republic.

Democracy is either the basis of the Republic or it is anarchy.

Among monarchists and aristocrats are honest men, men really loving order, seeing the worth of organisation, the necessity of giving an aim to power. These men become tyrants or tyrants' helpers and supporters, because the people choose the anarchical side of Democracy instead of the orderly. The tyrants catch at such recruits, and borrow from them the words of *Law* and *Order* to hurl like thunderbolts into the popular camp. We have but too much deserved it. Especially we Englishmen, with our noble individualism and self-assertion, run mad into all sorts of anarchical wildnesses.

Cow-hides and tar barrels, and Pierce or Barnum platforms, and filibusterings, and reactionary know-nothing conspiracies, are enough to make honest men of not very strong principles turn with loathing from Democracy. Better—say they—is the compelled *law* and *order* of even a Louis Bonaparte than this "chaos come again." It is an excusable error. An error nevertheless.

Royalty—real kingship, the rule of him who can—even when the place is taken by the strong hand—has a good in it. In old times when one man might stand really by divine right above his fellows—a god among brute beasts—when the great truth of

human brotherhood was all unknown, a king was needed. Then, as now, was necessity for human association for the sake of power to force the way of progress. How obtain that power? Mere brutes have no will, but must be led or goaded by the shepherd or drover. Mere slaves must be chained together. So kings—the capable—led, or drove, or bound together the unthinking, the unwilling masses; and cleared forests, drained swamps, and built pyramids, if nothing better. Law and order were in the hands of an Alfred. That was the good side of the Monarchy. There was an evil side also; for to every principle there are two sides—the better and the worse.

When capability passed from One to Many, the power of good and evil of course was there also. This is the constitutional transition-state: when men are halting between the two principles of Monarchy and Democracy (Aristocracy being only a compromise), the two principles of authority and conscience. Great things have been done in this transition time by the Aristocracies that have dared to rule to the best of their ability. The rule of our own Commonwealth's men was indeed, to speak strictly, aristocratic, though these nobles intended and prepared for the Republic. Very different their principles and conduct from those of the Aristocrats—that is to say, the rulers (we do not of course mean only the peerage) of England and America of the present day.

Men even of high mind might well prefer the godly law and order of Cromwell to the lynch law of democratic America or the disorder of a people—English or American—which does not yet perceive that freedom is only the ground of brotherly organisation, and that there is no freedom without equality. But, as the rule of the one or the few has its two sides—outrageous despotism and compulsory order, so the rule of the many has its two sides—anarchy and an orderly organisation.

And either way Democracy is preferable. Anarchy is not so injurious as despotism, and the compelled order of slaves can never be of equal worth to the order which results from the free-will of reasonable beings. We said honest men, even high-

minded, but of not very strong principles, might prefer compelled order to anarchy.

However, men better grounded in the truth would see that the fair comparison does not stand between the worst of Democracy and the best of Monarchy or Aristocracy: but that the principle of Monarchy and Aristocracy being false, their best result can but be unsatisfactory, and that no real necessity exists for the good principle of Democracy being always abused.

Our argument is for two classes: for those whose impulses are democratic, but who are deterred from confessing the true faith because of having only looked at the evils of democratic power; and for those who—confessing the faith—bring discredit upon it by always pointing to those abuses as the results at which they aim.

Democracy has but one word upon its banner—*The people*: but one definition—The people as the sole source of power. There is no aim in this: no religion. It is the mere egotistical assertion of power for power's sake. And power, as we have said before, is capability of good and evil.

The Republican banner bears on it a religious creed, connecting the passing with the eternal: giving also the aim of the Republican life. *God and the people* implies the organisation of the people, in order to do the will of God; the association of the whole people, not under Judge Lynch or Bonaparte, but under God as their only sovereign: the organisation of the whole people, not to make such laws as may suit the lusts of a capricious majority, but to enact the laws of God in human statutes.

The Republic is the organisation of the Democracy to realise in daily human life the prayer of all life to the Father which is in Heaven: *Thy kingdom come! Thy will be done on earth!*

This was the Republic Cromwell and his fellow-nobles hoped to establish by the sword upon an old Hebraic basis. They mistook a transient ground for an eternal, and the sword, though necessary to clear the way for truth, is powerless to establish her dominion.

But it rests with us to build upon the holier Bible of God's Law, written in the universal conscience, to build up even without

bloodshed—if we have the true daring of self-sacrificing faith—that great English Republic of virtuous aspiring which shall fulfil the prophecy of our Divinest, and be, indeed, “that goodly tower of a commonwealth which shall overshadow kings: a Republic, both social and democratic, in which the Democracy shall make its own laws, ruling its own life on that hard and difficult way which leadeth to God and happiness.”

Socialism and Communism.

What is Socialism, and wherein is it different from Communism? is the first question, and it will not be readily answered by Socialists.

For some of them occasionally deny their masters, lacking courage to follow them to the end: and others are of such foggy and uncertain mind that they are unable to define their own views.

It was said that Proteus would change himself into an infinite variety of shapes to escape those who held him bound in order to obtain his opinion. “Socialism” has the Protean faculty. Grapple with it under any form, and it takes refuge in another. We must follow it through all its appearances before we shall be able to close with its real spirit and meaning.

Christianity had for its basis the dogma of *human equality*. The Christianity of 1800 years has been the endeavour to realise this dogma through the establishment of individual liberty.

The emancipation of the bourgeoisie by the Revolution of 1789 was but one step upon the way. The bourgeoisie enthroned in 1830 forgot this, forgot that the rolling ball had but increased its impetus, that there could be no stopping short of the liberty of the very lowest of society.

In the eyes of what was privileged to be called society in old time, slavery was the natural order of things.

Christianity abolished this, and transformed the slaves into serfs.

Simonian rule was to be theocratic), a hierarchy composed *hypothetically* of the most loving and most capable, ruling in divine right, absolutely independent of any election.

The Saint Simonian formula was "to each according to his capacity, to each capacity according to his works." It started from a principle of inequality and authority, while the schools of Communism base themselves more or less on democratic equality, and proclaim either absolute equality of distribution or the puerile device of "to each according to his wants."

In their methods of procedure, therefore, Communism and Saint Simonianism are at variance. Both, however, place all power in the State, making the individual only its tool, under the form of a public functionary.

But Saint Simonianism meditated no change in the *position* of society. The farmer, for instance, might remain on his farm, only he would be the servant of the State, employed, directed, paid and removable by the State. Conviction and religious exaltation were to induce submission to the new priesthood; and life would thenceforward proceed under their direction.

FOURIER discovered the law of human progress—that law the law of attraction. Duty is but a human device to make men content with misery.

The true method of progress is to harmonise the conflicting interests and passions of men by satisfying all. Make life pleasurable; attract men by the exhibition of a terrestrial paradise, so admirably contrived that everyone will therein find the special happiness (however vile or exalted) for which he longs; there will no more be room for duty, no longer need of law. God will be an unnecessary supplement, religion impossible, sufficient unto the day will be the immensity of its own good; and life after life, age after age, will be but variation of enjoyment.

Make labour attractive, that is the whole art and mystery of Fourierism. Fourier, it is clear, does not destroy either individuality or property.

Buchez, an old atheist and carbonaro, was converted to belief in God, and in Saint Simon; but when Saint Simonianism inclined to-

wards becoming a new religion, he parted from it to settle down in a sort of Christianity. His system is nothing more than an attempt to found communities of workmen, little industrial monasteries where men might make shoes or pianos, and become independent of capitalists, common workshops only.

The supporters of the "ATELIER" are associates to this extent. Professor Maurice and his friends are of the same class. A spice of orthodox religion and a sentiment of duty and disinterestedness help to bring into these little firms some few better men than would be led by the mere prospect of personal gain.

Minter-Margan aspires to more than this mere partnership of labour. In his "happy villages" also, the love of God is to be an active element.

A patriarchal scheme with community of property is to be established for enthusiastic and pious working-men, under the patronage of the Anglican Church.

The Leeds Redemption Society stands on the other side of M. Buchez' plan. It is simply a partnership for economical purposes, without any question of politics or religion.

Louis Blanc's system is also similar to that of M. Buchez. But in place of the religious sentiment M. Blanc would depend upon the instinct of fraternity which he deems more philosophic.

Industrial corporations, with equality of wages for a time, and in the end *distribution according to wants*, to be set going by the State and kept together by spontaneous cohesion, the whole forming one scheme under the superintendence of the State. It is the system of Buchez with the action of the State instead of the dependence upon religious impulse; the Saint Simonian theory of functions rendered democratic after the first start—or partly democratic, for M. Blanc would regulate the suffrage.

Well now, what is a Socialist? and what is a Communist?

A Socialist we would define to be one who is not merely convinced of the necessity of social reform (for every Republican is convinced of that), but who has the whole or part of a remedial measure ready cut and dry for immediate use. He may or may not be a Communist. The Fourierists, says Considerant, and,

indeed, it should be clear enough without his telling, are not Communists. A Communist is one who would have property held in common, or have men live in common, or perhaps both.

We are aware that our definitions are disputable; that men will say the mere organisation of labour is Communism, simply because men labour together, however the produce is held, or whether they live in community or not. We can not surely prevent the abuse of terms. All we can do is to request our readers to bear our definitions in mind while they judge of our remarks. Recollect that we speak of "Socialists" and "Communists" only within those limits. And now to our objections:—

Those once cleared away, we shall be able to see how far we can work together.

The vices of Communism we take to be these. The denial of property, individuality, family, country, and religion. More or less, one or other of these vices taints every scheme of Communism.

Communism would have no private property because men have abused the right of property. Have they not also misused their arms? Would you therefore cut them off, denying that they can be used legitimately?

The wrong of private appropriation is when one takes that which ought to belong to another.

To take from the robber does not benefit the robbed. This objection to property is but a violent reaction excited by the tyranny of capital, by the excesses of competition. It is the violence which (like Jack in the tale of a tub) cannot stay to reform, but destroys.

It cannot untie the Gordian knot: so thinks it is enough to cut it.

The denial of individualism is consistent with the denial of property. When you deprive a man of all right to the result of his own active life, you make him to all intents and purposes the slave of the State.

It matters not whether you would establish Communism by force or by universal consent. The only difference is that in the

one case you kill the man, in the other he kills himself. For slavery is the death of the soul.

From the assertion that the man's life—or work, which is the fruit of his life, belongs absolutely to the State arises naturally the necessity of the State directing that work. The State is task-master as well as pay-master. It is no longer a question of human growth, each as he will rendering of his first fruits, as a duty, to humanity. It is the forced growth of the plant in a hot-house, the forced labour of the beast in the field, well-trained, and well fed, it may be, but beast-like, machine-like, slavish, nevertheless.

And if the men are but the machines of the State, women and children of course are but the same. What meaning can there be in all those mysterious affinities and sympathies, through which the parents lay the groundwork of the education of the child? The State wants machines; that is all. It is easier perhaps to classify them in communal stalls or cells, as number one, number two, number three, etc. If, in spite of the very natural reluctance, even abhorrence, of Communists themselves, such a system should end in abolishing marriage, it would not be surprising, nor inconsistent. If the State is absolute master, may regulate life, labour and reward, why not the beginnings of life also, for the better service of the State—appointing this man to that woman as may occasionally seem best to the direction?

The prejudice of country follows. The community is all. Patriotism being too narrow for us we shut ourselves up in communal barracks, and in our cosmopolitan indifference forget the very existence of humanity as a whole. Our little Utopia is the known world.

And religion. The slave has none. In place of duty we have interest, in place of God and His law of growth we have the Communist Patriarch or Patriarchs, and the dictates of an unnatural and intolerable formalism.

Thank God that the Patriarch has not yet dethroned Him, that His law of growth is strong enough to burst the most inveterate form of Communism, if by any chance it could be established.

Communism is the negation explicit, or implied, of individualism and its attributes ; that is to say, it is tyranny. It matters not that men consent to it. My submission does not make me less a slave, nor my master less a tyrant. Nay more, a majority, where the Communists would elect their Government (which is not always the case), is no less tyrannous than a single Patriarch. I cannot abdicate my right to control my own life, I cannot consent to suicide, to make myself the slave even of a majority, albeit I may have the chance to-morrow of being tyrant in my turn.

Communism is the destruction of anything like real co-operation, for it is simply the ordering of galley slaves, instead of the combined efforts of free men.

The willing partnership of a number of individuals agreeing to arrange together their work, with certain stipulations for returns, does not necessarily imply the destruction or abdication of individuality ; the partnership may be dissolved at pleasure. But when a nation becomes socialist, when the Government, no matter how constituted, even though elected by a majority, dictates the labour and its reward, how shall the objecting partner escape ? He has no choice but between slavery and exile, possibly not that. This is tyranny ; and make it as advantageous as you can, it will be tyranny.

Babœuf's Communism was tyranny, to be established by force. Owen and Cabet would establish the same tyranny by persuasion ; the Saint Simonian who is not a Communist, would also tyrannise. Louis Blanc would do so. The private experiments of a few religious enthusiasts, or the commercial partnerships of men associating simply for the sake of personal gain, have but little opportunity of exemplifying the principle.

Fourierism certainly is not tyranny. But there is another evil principle running through all these schools, of which Fourierism is even the most notable example ; it is the error of losing all their reforms upon utility, upon interest, upon selfishness.

Self-love is not the ground of human action ; and there every school of Socialism or Communism is at fault.

It is true that St. Simonians, and some others whom we have named, appeal to some vague religious sentiment ; but they do so only as a help ; they dare not depend on it. The real inducement held out is personal gain. A home in a happy village, a cell in some comfortable bee-hive, a promise of every possible gratification, even of the lowest appetites—though there may be difference in the kind of reward held out, it is reward : it is still in all their systems the appeal to the selfishness of man. What difference is there between this and the “old immoral world” system ?

The difference, it will be said, is that very wide one between co-operation and competition. But there is co-operation now. There is co-operation as far as man’s selfishness thinks it advisable. Your whole social reform resolves itself then into a question of how best to minister to the selfishness of men.

It involves no alteration in the principle of the present system : it is only an extension of the system, or an improved method. Then we must needs give the preference to Fourier, who does not affect a jargon of duty, sacrifice, and religion, but boldly offers to be pander to all and any of the lusts of man.

His Socialism alone is consistent. He attempts no compromise between love of God, which is duty to humanity, and selfish enjoyment of all that one can attract to oneself ; he repulses the communistic sophistry of enslaving oneself for one’s own advantage.

He preaches boldly—eat, drink, and enjoy thyself :—God is not ; thy brothers are but so many ministers to thy pleasures ; duty is a pious fraud, invented to prevent thy happiness ; sacrifice and martyrdom are but eccentric modes of enjoyment, the pranks of fools. This, at all events, is honest. We can understand at least the logic of such Socialism as this.

Is this all ? Is this stying of the human animal in the most elegant of phalansteries the be-all and the end-all of our life ? We appeal to the Socialists themselves, to those, and they are not few, among them who, in contradiction of their own theories, nobly suffer for their brethren. In the name of what ?

Is your martyr-course, indeed, only a sham ? Is it that you like to be persecuted ? What difference then between you and

the worst of tyrants, who also consults his liking, only he likes to persecute? Is not choice free under your defence of selfishness?

But again, we appeal to those who do really suffer to redeem the world. In the name of what are ye martyrs, if God's law is but happiness—self-interest, what you call utility?

But you will answer—we do not think this. We acknowledge the nobleness of duty, we would not degrade human longings to the level of the beasts; but we believe that man cannot be ennobled, cannot rise into true human dignity, while he continues to be the slave of his material wants.

And we Republicans can believe that with you; but we believe also, that appealing to his selfishness will not raise him out of the slough; for he needs even health and purity of will more than strength of body.

And though you acknowledge with us the necessity of elevating the moral nature, as we recognise with you the need of immediate material amelioration, we still must cavil at your means. Do what you can to remedy the material evils, but do not mislead mankind by telling them that *through that process* they shall ascend to the improvement of their souls.

They may be rendered comfortable, and yet remain slaves, irreligious, and beasts. But seek first the reign of righteousness, and all other things will be added unto you.

When the first Christians became Communists, their guiding motive was self-sacrifice for the sake of the brethren. How miserable is your modern parody.

The most degraded of our population need moral even more than physical regeneration. There is brute strength even now in our wretchedest holes and cellars to shake to pieces in a day the whole monarchical framework of society. But there is no moral power. What hinders the progress of your own partial experiments? for what is your fastest progress, considering the relative numbers of the populations among which you preach? What is it but your want of any high principles round which to gather your hearers! Raise up the banner of a charter which should be only as a key to future reform, and two millions of men could follow it. In one

night the French Monarchy is overthrown by the very name of the Republic. And that charmed word Country, how men gave their blood for it in Hungary and Italy. Who follows to your shabby cry of personal gain?

You think to regenerate the world bit by bit, while the very system which has caused our need of regeneration remains dominant and almost unassailed. You expect that power will remain a passive spectator of your attempts to sap it. It does so, in silent contempt of those who would overthrow a selfish tyranny by a newer adaptation of selfishness, knowing well, too, that could you succeed, there would be nothing changed except the form.

Yet continue your experiments. Every wretchedness that you remove shall be carried to the account of your good works. We, too, dare not hesitate to help your endeavours in that direction. But we will neither preach to men that the material redemption is the one thing needful, nor remit our efforts to inspire that higher spirit of patriotism, of religion, and of devout sacrifice, through which alone a people can be regenerated, and rendered worthy of enjoyment.

Work on, preaching to slaves in the language which slaves only can understand. Who shall forbid your sympathy? But for us we will rather follow in the track of the apostles and martyrs of humanity, summoning the spirit of manhood that lives even in the lowest, rekindling the sacred fire even in the slave's heart, till, forgetting all except that deepest wrong of slavery itself, he shall rise, ay, crippled as he is, and overthrow injustice, and build upon the marrow of his victory, with unshackled hands, not a palace for his own appetites, but a temple in which he may be healed, wherein he may serve God, the true, the beautiful, the eternal.

Are the Socialists Republicans ?

Republicanism is not republican unless it is social as well as democratic. But, on the other hand, Socialism may be republican or not.

What is a Republican ?

We abandon the vague definition—one who objects to a king. One who objects to monarchy would be right enough ; but then monarchy must bear its widest sense—the rule of a portion, whether one, a few or a many, as opposed to the rule of the whole. A Republican is one who objects to any fraction of the nation ruling ; who would have the whole nation its own ruler.

Republicanism is government by all for all.

By all : every adult member of the State helping to interpret, and to set in action the laws of life.

For all : for the protection, the aidance, and the assurance of the utmost possible progress, of every member of the State.

The supreme Republican law is the progress of Humanity. Humanity is all of human life. The conditions of this law, the terms without which its full development is impossible, are liberty for all, equality for all, fraternity for all.

Liberty : perfect freedom for each to develop his nature, to grow to the utmost of his capacity.

Equality : the necessary corollary and only safeguard of liberty ; protection of each from each, that the growth of one may not impede the growth of another ; equal provision for all, so that none may want the elements of growth, moral, intellectual, or physical.

Fraternity : the law of duty, the only bond of association ; the duty of God's children one to another ; the law which makes of the many human individuals one whole Humanity.

We accord the name of Republican only to him who admits this as the basis of his life and doctrine.

We are only logical in denying the name of Republican to whosoever denies this basis : for every departure from it is a step into

Monarchism—that is to say, the usurpation of a fraction, a treason against the wholeness, the oneness of human society; and Monarchism, however disguised, is the opposite of Republicanism.

Now, Socialism is not always republican. And when not, certainly does not become any more republican because the Socialist possessor may happen to call himself a Republican—having, it may be, a very earnest hatred of every kind of Monarchism, except that which may be hidden—even from himself—under his particular formula.

Socialism is not always republican. To take an instance. The Socialism which would make the State (and let it be the government of even a majority, and however great the majority) the director and dictator of labour, with only this change from our present system—that the workman would be under, instead of the tyranny of single or combined capitalists, the stronger tyranny of a corporate majority: such Socialism, however well it might feed the workman, would not be republican, for it would violate individual *liberty* by passing beyond the mere protection and provision of elements to an interference with personal action. Suppose a Manchester “Republic,” with the combined masters as the Government, say even elected by universal suffrage: does not every one see the tyranny, the Monarchism to which the workman would be subjected? But suppose you elect, instead of the masters, the Committee of the Amalgamated Engineers or the Promoters of Christian Socialism, can you not see that nothing would be altered except the men? The false principle of interference with liberty remains the same in either case.

Is that Socialism republic which invents a hierarchy, a system of castes, like the Saint-Simonian? What matters how comfortable it may make its lowest class? It is not republican, for it breaks the law of *equality*. It forbids the low-born to hope to become the equal of the high; it attempts to make such distinctions permanent.

Is that Socialism which teaches interest instead of duty, which tells men to form happy villages, comfortable co-operative corners,

wherein they may shut themselves up in shabby enjoyments and escape the tumult of political action, the inconvenience of sacrifice, while their brothers in the world spend doubly of their sweat and pain because of the desertion of these co-operatives? Has it not thus, as but too often before, as in France, when the workmen, taught to be patient for so long as their little "associative experiments" might escape the fangs of the Reaction, stood tamely by and left a few brave men to weep tears of blood for the ignominy of their country? Is such Socialism republican? No! for it is a denial of the duty of *fraternity*; the wholeness of Humanity.

Now, it does not follow that, because these and such like Socialisms are false and unrepublican, false indeed inasmuch as they are unsocial, *forgetful of some portion of the indivisible law of social life*—it does not necessarily follow that the teachers should be traitors. It is most likely that most of them are very sincere men, who have only cramped their minds or partially blinded themselves by too exclusive study of certain chapters of progress or by dwelling too long on the dazzling page of their own plenary inspiration, and who have so become unable to perceive the insufficiency of their own theories. But we are not, therefore, bound to hold our tongues when they insist on such nonsense as—There is no god but Fourier! no duty except Icarianism! etc., etc. Let men be never so honestly blind, and yet we may warn others from letting the blind lead them.

There are Socialists (and here it matters not of what description their Socialism may be) who teach to us that political action is of little use; that is, in the teeth of opposing institutions we may reform everything. Little argument is needed to prove that such Socialists are not Republicans.

Whatever theory, or whatever course of action, loses sight of the perfection of the individual or the completeness of Humanity, that theory, that course of action, is not republican, however its followers may insist on assuming the name of republican or to whatever denomination of Socialism they may lend the credit of their principles or conduct.

In truth, the system-maker, however true to Republicanism his system may be, runs some risk of becoming an enemy to the Republic. Let him systematise, and proselytise, and solve all difficulties up to the seventh heaven: all that is his right and may be useful. But when he insists upon the acceptance of his system as a preliminary for union, or when others, lacking the modesty which characterises system-builders, insist for him that there is no road to salvation but through his theory, then he, or they, must be condemned as impeding progress. For they hinder union and action with the dogmatists they so impertinently thrust in the way of men who have yet to win the opportunity of change; they so waste the time which is wanted for immediate work, and, still worse, withdraw many from the army of the future on no better ground than a refusal to accept their singular fanaticisms for the watchword of the combined force. This treason to our cause has been committed again and again by men who pride themselves on being pre-eminently socialist. Socialist, but surely not republican.

We throw out of this argument all consideration of the mere democrats, who are not Socialists. While the Socialists are lamentably but too often not republican, these mere politicians are never republican. Again, it matters nothing what a man may call himself. Judge him by his doctrine and his work. To follow this out may compel a lessening of the presumed number of the Republican array; but we shall know who are indeed on our side, and not occasionally strike our best friends in defence of some who are friends only in name, in the blind intent of a sincerity which cannot reason, or under pretence of a "co-operation" which has no faith but in its own poor popeship.

Let us again remark that the Republican neither doubts the necessity of a thorough social reform nor shirks the declaration of his views upon social questions. Only, holding the Republican faith, that *in the free people alone resides the right of interpreting God's laws and ruling the method of realising the same*, he deems it but consistent to refrain from prescribing on his individual authority what that interpretation shall be. He rather calls his

brethren to help him to win freedom upon which alone the future can be built, and, though he may be gifted with prophecy, he does not hold the may-be as an excuse for dogmatism.

What then is the Socialism of the Republic? We have endeavoured broadly to define Republicanism, and the further definition will not be difficult. The Republic "democrat and social" is not a mere catch-phrase in our mouths. That "democrat and social" is indeed the sufficient condemnation of all the systems of mere Socialism.

Our republican Socialism is not the abrogation of property because the true principle of property has been abused, but the assurance of property to every one : not the destruction of individuality because men have stood in antagonism, but its recognition as an element in society, as necessary as the distinct note in music ; not the denial of national characteristics because king-led peoples have warred against each other, but a perception of the value of national varieties as aids to the progression of Humanity ; not a blind conceit that the competition of men has been "nothing but a mistake," but the knowledge that competition as well as co-operation is a principle of human life, to be-used to the same end, the perfection of the race.

Our Socialism is, as much as that of any "Socialist," the assertion of the right of every human being to the tools, the means, of work ; the right to education, and to the credit, the capital of the State ; but we would neither make the State the task-master to the ruin of liberty, nor by any equalisation of wages violate the equal right of the better workman to his just reward—such gain as his better work may bring him without undue advantage taken of his fellow-worker.

Our Socialism is the harmonising of society, not by compulsory drilling into arbitrary formulas, but by freedom and opportunity of association—not by empirically attempting to prevent difficulties of growth, but by opening and keeping free the ways of growth for the weakest as well as for the strongest, and by caring that each grow to his utmost ; it is the religious organisation of Humanity, not by trying to bribe men to orderly behaviour with

a better table or with any of the poor insufficient lures of material interest, but by touching the deeper spring of human endeavour—the *inherent tendency to aspire toward good*, and so leading on through nobleness to nobleness, from progression to progression, to a higher and yet a higher and more excellent future. This is the Socialism of the Republican.

For everyone education, freedom, association, unstinted assistance, a sure reward, and incentives to the true dignity of manhood. The organisation of all by all and for all. What “Socialism” offers more?

As for the special means by which these results are to be produced, the Republican camp has also its system-builders, but at least they avoid the reproach of wasting time in demanding subscriptions to such articles; choosing rather to combat for the ground whereupon alone the freed peoples shall decide on the programmes of our several utopias.

We Republicans, indeed, are Socialists. Let the Socialists learn Republicanism, and some of our utopias may become real.

CHAPTER VI.

SLAVERY AND FREEDOM.

Slavery and Freedom—Two Pictures of Slavery—Applications to our own Country and our own Day—Voluntary Slavery—Non-Intervention and Fair Play.

It was well said by our great Milton that “no man apprehends what vice is so well as he who is truly virtuous.” Even so, unless we have closely looked, though it be but in spirit, upon the glorious beauty of Freedom, we shall not be able to thoroughly appreciate the worthlessness and vice of Slavery. What then is Freedom?

Look around you and behold ! Observe the oak in the forest, the pine on the mountain, or the palm-tree in the desert. No axe has come against his boughs ; no limb has been torn away ; man has not trained or lopped him ; nothing has hindered him from growing as Nature ordered. Spring and Summer, Autumn and Winter, and their change of blessed ministries, have reared him to the majesty of that perfected growth. His faculties have been fully developed. He has neither been nailed against a wall, nor crippled for some useful invention, nor forced aside to make room for another who would assume a diviner origin. He has reached his utmost stature ; he fulfilleth the number of his days ; and when he shall fall it shall be in the late old age of an accomplished life. The forester, the mountaineer, the desert-dweller—each is free.

Watch the stars as you see them travelling on the highways of glory and of joy, when the veil of sunlight is withdrawn, and the skirts of the infinite realm of night become visible unto us. The stars are free. Each pursueth his own path ; each fulfilleth his own destiny. No capricious tyrant says unto one—“Obscure thy

glory for me, that thy compelled dimness may serve as a foil to my exceeding splendour!" or to another—"So far shalt thou go, and no farther; stay thy proud course at a respectful distance from me!"

The flower on the forest's heart, the velvet moss that cushioneth the decrepid oak, the heath on the mountain-side—they too are free. They are where God planted them; the energies God gave them they can use; the life He gave them they can enjoy. So they are free. Free: because none forbid their growth, their fragrance, or their abundant blossoming. They are free to fully develop the individual peculiarities of their being—to work out their task of life—to fulfil the will of that Beneficence whose universal law is Growth.

The wild herds, and the wild fowl, fish, insect and animalculæ, all things with which man has not meddled are free. None says unto another—"Stay thy growth for me! change thy nature for me! forget the special purpose of thy own being, and live, not for thyself, but for me, not in accordance with thy own nature, but wholly and solely with reference unto mine!" The wild horse bridlenth not his fellow. The fish enslaveth not his kind. Not even of the meanest insects is there found one so mean as to bend the knee unto another. There is war among them; but they are not tyrants and slaves. They are free. Each lives for himself. Everyone controlleth his own life under no authority except the conditions of his nature. *Freedom is the opportunity of healthily developing one's nature, the opportunity of growth, the condition of excellence.* It is the soil in which alone the seed of improvement can be made to germinate, in which every nature must be planted, or the nature cannot reach its full perfectness. This freedom is necessary even for the lowest creature. And as necessary, and so much more excellent, as man's nature exceeds that of the mere brutes, is the freedom of Humankind. He, whose will is the promise of virtue, needs room for development, even as does the palm-tree of the desert. He, who looketh beyond the stars, whose mighty hopes are farther reaching than the strongest sighted telescope that peereth through the multi-

tude of worlds, he should be free to move in his God-appointed course, healthfully and strongly, stepping onward from growth to growth to that end for which the Creator set him in the pathway of Eternity. What would man be without this freedom? man, on whom, beyond all other gifts, the gift of conscience has been bestowed, a means (so far transcending any possessed by other animals) for regulating his own life and actions, proclaiming him with peculiar emphasis as born for freedom? *What* would he be without freedom? No longer man. "Man, who man would be, must rule the empire of himself, in it must be supreme."

Freedom implies self-control. In man this self-control involves the exercise of will, the use of reason for moral and intellectual growth; and it is this extension of freedom, or rather this greater capacity for turning freedom to account, which distinguishes man from his inferiors in creation. Every true system of religion, the whole theory and doctrine of virtue, the very idea of duty and responsibility, whether to God or man, are built upon the assumption of this being the natural and proper state of Humanity. They can exist only in such a condition. They can find room nowhere but in freedom. They are mere unmeaning words except in reference to this freedom. For how can he be virtuous who has no will, no control over himself? Virtue is not a mere doing some other's bidding. Virtue is the righteous action of a free man. Or what duties can he owe or perform who has no power of determining his own actions, who is not his own master, who is a slave? The lower animals possess a kind, a degree of will. The very trees and mosses are free; and without that freedom, could not accomplish the purposes for which they exist.

Shall man with nobler purposes to answer, with greater requirements for freedom, with means for further using it, with reason teaching him how to choose the good and to refuse the evil, making him wise to his own salvation, lifting him from the stagnation of sloth, and leading him on from progression to progression, from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of God—shall *this* man have less of freedom of will? Shall man alone of all

earth's creatures, shall man especially, be bound down, be "crippled, caged, confined," and still be expected to attain his full growth? The plant and the brute reach their proper development by virtue of the vital energy or instinct, and its condition of freedom. Has not reason too its requisitions? Needs not reason also its proportionate condition of freedom? And that, too, so far greater a share of freedom than is the allotment of instinct. Shall the mighty and excellent human fabric, with its god-like heart and intellect, be built up to perfection with less opportunity than the mere existence of a plant? All things need freedom for self-development. Man has greater capacity of development; greater freedom therefore must be his, that he may attain his higher destiny. Freedom—the opportunity for healthy development—involves in man not only that self-control which is implied in the instinctive growth of any and everything in its own peculiar way; but also that further self-regulation and higher sovereignty, which is the requisition of reason; without which there is no such thing as conscience, no such thing as virtue, no such thing as progression; without which there is nothing to elevate man above the inferior creatures; without which indeed he is immeasurably below them, seeing that they do fulfil the conditions of their natures, and this completer freedom is the condition of his.

Slavery is the prevention of growth and development; the prevention of that self-control and free conduct which God assigned to man with the gift of reason, as the means of virtue. "The Essence of Slavery"—says Lamennais—"is the destruction of human individuality, that is to say, of that natural liberty and sovereignty of a man, which makes of him a moral being, responsible for his actions, capable of virtue. Degraded even below the animal, in losing his individuality, he is deprived of the right of his humanity, consequently, of all right, and in course of all duty. Not knowing how to name him, because we know not how to understand him, we must call him *a thing*. See what becomes of God's noblest creature."

Slavery destroys the will of man : then of what use is reason ? Slavery stays human improvement, or at least compels its slow progression in certain arbitrary and confined channels : then what becomes of the indefinite power of progress with which man is endowed ? He has no thanks for well-doing who does well by constraint : so slavery abolishes virtue. Slavery robs a man of himself, makes him a mere machine for the tyrant's work. Slavery murders man. Slavery damns the future of the whole race. Slavery is the blight which forbids the opening of the buds of human promise. Slavery is the chain which binds the spirit to menial tasks when it would be soaring Godward. Slavery is that curse of contempt and disbelief and cruellest mockery, which reserves man's prayers, making his best deeds of no worth. Slavery heapeth useless burdens on the already overburdened. It deprives life of its smile. It dethrones God, leaving to its victim no redeemer except Death.

Slavery is of two kinds—the *active* and the *passive*. The slavery of the hammer, which strikes in obedience to the will of him who wields it, which allows itself to be used, which *acts* at the bidding of another ; and the slavery of the nail, which is only stricken, which does not act, but is acted upon—which drives not but is driven—which is the sufferer and not the executioner. Between these two there is a difference. There is much the same difference between the man who is simply the victim of tyranny, because of his inability to resist a mightier power, and the man who consents to be the agent and active tool of tyranny, repeating and transmitting the evil which he endures—that there is between the diseased man whose illness is as much as possible confined to himself, and the plague-smitten who willingly infects all within his reach. Let every man well examine his own condition and conduct, that he may ascertain which of these unfortunates he is.

Does he act in accordance with his own determinations in all cases save only when absolute power, either of law or circumstance, compels his self-surrender ? Does he never succumb to power till

he has tried his utmost of resistance ; and even then in yielding, look for means wherewith to renew the struggle ; and ever protesting against the hindrance which mars his conscientious acting ? Then, though foiled at every point, though driven from the course he had marked out for himself, though forced to march on the very opposite road, or bound down and fixed to the evil place whence he had desired to remove—then though indeed he must feel himself a slave, though the iron enter even into his soul, it shall not destroy him. He may at least say—"I have striven, though I am defeated. Yet am I not conquered : for I will renew the fight, again and again, however hopelessly ; and again and again I will rebel against the yoke imposed upon me." He is rather the captive than the slave. He is the compelled slavery of the victim, which may make a man miserable but not guilty. Honour to the struggling slave ! He too may be a hero and a martyr. And however degraded let him not be despised ! There is indignant pity for him, but no condemnation.

But woe to him who is a slave in soul ! to him who aids in enslaving his fellows. Who, not content with bowing *himself* to the usurped supremacy of law or custom, plays jackall to the oppressor, caters for the ravenous and prowling tyranny, and toils, in envy of others' uprightness, in very hatred of freedom, to make others as himself, to drag down the high-souled, and drive them, if possible, beneath even his own infamy : as if endeavouring to be the veriest slave of slaves, the ape of tyranny—at once its victim, its tool, and its accomplice.

This is the lowest depth of slavery. It need hardly be said that there are numerous grades of this misery ; that a line is not to be drawn where the one species sinks into the other ; that the shades and gradations of this wretchedness are imperceptible ; and that we can scarcely distinguish where the tyrant slides into the slavery himself had caused. But by these marks you shall know the slave. By these signs shall you detect slavery, whatever its trappings or disguises, or whatever the decency and holiness of baptism with which it may have sought to cleanse and beautify its foulness :—

If you see a man against his own will sacrificed for another, know that he is sacrificed to slavery.

If you see a human being prevented from travelling on his own path toward that state of perfectness of which his organisation is capable—if you see him debarred from education, from physical or mental or moral culture, know that slavery is there at work for that man's ruin.

If you see one prevented from exercising his energies for his own benefit, when he might do so without encroaching on the rights of others, know that slavery is there.

If you perceive that one submitteth his will and judgment to another's, doing another's bidding instead of obeying his own free conscience, then be sure that slavery has robbed him of his birth-right, whatever mess of pottage, of love or contentment, he may get in exchange.

If you find one who says—"I know this to be my duty, but I dare not do it," know that slavery hath enchained that man's conscience; or if another says—"This is my interest, but I dare not do it," though it interferes not with the rights of another, know that slavery is devouring him.

If you behold one acting against his conscience because another commands or compels his obedience, set him down as the tool of tyranny. Lo, the oppressor is there!

Or if you find one who does right, and but because another orders it—one who acts wisely and discreetly, but solely because constrained by another—mark him too as a slave. Recollect that a slave cannot be virtuous; that slavery can never wear the honours of virtue.

If you see a man hindered from aught that might conduce to his well-being and happiness; if you find a man compelled to do aught that may conduce to his own mischief; and if you see that it is not a consequence of his own nature and the laws of the Eternal, but occasioned by the will of some other man or men, it matters not whether few or many, then you shall know that such a one is in the thrall of tyranny, that he is losing himself, that he is fallen from the dignity of a man.

But if you find a man who dares to think and to reason, who listens obediently to the voice of God within him—that revelation which ever visits the heart of him who seeketh earnestly for knowledge, and who, having convinced himself, dares all consequences in the endeavour to follow the impulses of his convictions, who for conscience' sake confronts all opposal, swerving neither to the right hand nor to the left; then, however he may be defeated and enthralled, reverence the shadow of *freedom* still abiding on that man; and when you see him crushed by the weight of evil though you know that there too is a manifestation of slavery, and that the Son of God is trampled beneath the Cross, yet say to your own hearts that faint beholding the agony of that Holy One—"Verily slavery here has but a poor triumph; captivity is led captive; the blood of the martyr is the seed of the world's future freedom."

In all these cases there is slavery, more or less; a slavery that is intolerable, that must be rooted out.

No vigour of human endeavour, no supernatural aid—not though the "stars in their courses fought" for man in the battle against sin and misery, can avail anything while man usurps a sway over his fellow, while the will of one is trampled under foot or dragged at the heels of another, while man dares meddle with another's conscience; while man's arbitrariness, whether of brute force or over-reaching intellect, presumes to limit or direct the progress of his fellows.

Room for the healthy development of all man's capabilities, of each one's capabilities. Room for the spirit to expand as for the body to grow.

Room for the exercise of conscious will, without let of human enactment, caprice, or craft; or men cannot rise to the dignity of manhood; but must continue as they have so long been—the bondmen and prey of a debasing slavery, the sport of accident, less healthy than the meanest of existences, unworthy of reason, abusers even of the faculty of speech—continually lying in calling themselves *men*.

Let us now see what SERVICE is ; for men have too long been led to confound it with slavery, cheated into the belief that slavery and service are the same.

It is not so. Service is rather the completion of freedom ; the turning freedom to its proper use.

Freedom and service are help-fellows, upstaying man's steps on either side. Freedom and service—man's *right* and man's *duty*,—are like two palm trees which bear no fruit unless they grow together. Service and slavery are utterly at variance, of uncombining dispositions, miserably yoked together and ever childless. But the plenteous fruit of the marriage of service and freedom are peace and love, and strength, and self-respect, and thankfulness, and joy, and clear-eyed hope and beauty, worshipful as one born in heaven.

Let us learn how this is :—

Service is voluntary ; slavery is constrained. Service is God-like, and raises man to the height of heaven.

Slavery degrades him below the brutes. Let him who would be first among you be your servant.

Truly, the servant of all is the greatest of all. What diviner title shall we invent to excel that noblest title of Omnipotence—*the universal Servant* ?

But is that the slave ? Service is voluntary ; that which is voluntary is free. Slavery is compulsory.

Herein is the difference.

A man hires a servant. He must have, he cannot do without a servant. Think how many menial offices there are. Let him say a slave then ; and we know his meaning. But if it is indeed a servant—let him understand that he who serves is the greater. He who needs his service is by so much beneath his servant. Must it be repeated that God is man's servant ?

But to examine more closely into the common relation of master (or mistress) and servant, domestic or other ; if the connection is that of a willing contract, for the benefit of both, and each serves the other for "interest" sake—or, even if one chooses to wait upon the other for love's sake and without remuneration—such

service need not be slavery. If each serves the other, they are so equal.

If one only serves, the servant is the greater.

But, if on the one side there is any assumption of superiority on the ground of receiving service—of service being the homage of an inferior, while on the other side the service is at all induced or affected by fear, or by any circumstances independent of the will—if there is any over-ruling of the moral will and conscience of the servant—any stretching of the contract between the hirer and the hired to the over-reaching of the servant—then there is no longer the God-like service, but the vileness of slavery.

Possibly a very trifling slavery, possibly quite a pleasant sort of slavery: but none the less it is slavery; an abasement of humanity; and, however amiably it may be managed—a usurpation and tyrannous invasion of the natural right of self-sovereignty.

Or again, to take the relation of master and workman. This is manifestly a contract for mutual benefit. Each serves the other; so far there is no superiority.

If the master would put on any haughtiness because the workman serves him—does he not also serve the workman? (What respect may be due to either for intelligence or moral worth is beside our present question.)

Let the haughtiest know that no kind of service willingly rendered can degrade the server.

But when the master would strain the power of his position beyond the fair terms of a mutual contract, to the injury of the workman—when he dares to meddle with the workman's conscience, or to dispose of his life, not in virtue of the willing agreement between them, but simply because he is master and will have such and such things done—then he is the tyrant and the workman sinks into a slave.

There is no longer any contract; there is no longer willing service either for love or interest. What then remains? On the one side assumption of authority, on the other prostration of will; and these are the sure tokens of slavery.

The mother waiteth upon her child : she ministers to it without compulsion, without fear.

What, indeed, shall keep her from serving the beloved ? The child tends her sick or infirm parent, doing all menial offices, as they are called ; but there is nothing menial to Love. The physician serves the sick : the teacher serves the ignorant : the philanthropist serves whoever needs his ministry.

The loving delights in the service of the beloved ; the consoler waits upon the sorrow-stricken. All these are services : services which degrade not, but which ennoble the servant : service scarcely possible in slavery, but well compatible with the most God-like freedom : services not to be commanded, but flowing freely from the heart.

Who says that service is a degradation ? Who says that the child may assume authority because its parent is the servant of its every want ? Who calls the teacher less than the taught, the physician less than him in need of healing ? Who needs another's service must yield precedence to that other. His servant, in virtue of that service, ranks above him. He who compels another's slavish attention calls for himself only a comparative grandeur.

The tyrant is only a degree above a slave. But the freeman and the servant of humanity, whether the object of his service be all humanity, his country, or only the least of the little children—he is great beyond comparison. As a servant, as the true son of God, he takes rank above all human distinctions. And even the hired servant is the equal of the hirer. If each makes his own terms, serving his own purpose, what difference is between them ? If one is forced to accept the terms of another—whether 'through any iniquitous or social arrangements or any other tyranny—such a one is not a servant but a slave.

This have I found, said the preacher—that God made men upright, but they have found out many inventions. And this of slavery is the worst.

Look back to the beginning of human life, and see in what dull ignorance and brutality this curse had birth. It is plain that,

originally, man was monarch of himself. The solitary savage was his own master: he had complete and undisturbed possession of his own life, his will was paramount in that realm, nothing limiting it save the laws of his organisation—the laws of Nature and of God.

But it was not good for him to be alone. Even in that first grey dawn and twilight of existence his wants and weaknesses led him to seek the society of his kind. The lesson of the bundle of sticks, which, bound together, can not be broken, but which, severally, are weak and worthless—this lesson was early forced upon him; early and late, for even until now the struggles and strivings of mankind have been and are but the heavings of the unremitting endeavour to work out this great problem of human life—the union and organisation of humanity.

Naturally enough, for man must learn by experience and prove all things, to know how to hold fast the good: naturally enough, man's first attempts at union were falsely based. He sought to force it. He relied on *liberty* only, without *equality*—the liberty of the strongest to take liberties, to compel.

He asserted only his own will: he trampled upon the will of his fellow. The stronger compelled the weaker, robbed the weaker of his birthright, his right to self-control, making the robbed his slave, an appropriation for the purposes of the tyrant's selfishness.

Soon numbers congregated together: it was no longer merely individual against individual, man against man, woman against woman: there arose a conspiracy and combination of the strong: and masses of human beings were degraded into mere instruments of tyranny. So brute force—the liberty of the anarchy—ruled supreme.

And then, as the human mind advanced in knowledge if not in wisdom, men discovered that intellect is stronger than brute force—that craft can subdue power. So men were cheated into slavery. Fraud and force, both tyrants, learned soon to work together: and the chains were firm.

Are they not even yet unbroken? But is not this a usurpation?

Do the long ages of endurance wear out the original right? Does slavery become God-like, or tyranny become truth, because the pile of freedom's martyrs reaches nearly unto heaven? Is not our right the same?

The same, despite all tyrannies, charters, compromises, conventions, and constitutions, as when human beings first met together to lay the foundations of society. Did they not meet then with equal rights? Man with man—what matter if they were savage? Did not each come crowned with self-sovereignty, a king in his own right, to treat on terms of equal alliance with his fellow for the benefit of both? What right had one to say to another—to say either by words or deeds—"I care not for your rights, I know you would join me for your own benefit, or freely for the benefit of us both: but I am stronger than you. You shall be my captive, my tool, my slave. I will sacrifice you to my god—the short-sighted demon of self-interest. I will rob you of what Nature gave you. I care nothing for your interest. Your life shall be my property"?

What specious apologist for some particular sort of tyranny will defend this naked wrong?

Had justice indeed been arbiter between these, between the first tyrant and his slave, would not this have been righteous judgment?

Human creatures to whom God gave freedom to fulfil the purposes of your existence, in order that you might become virtuous and aspire to the heights of duty—for what objects do you seek to unite together? Is it not because each of you feels the insufficiency of his loneliness, because each would have bettered by union, because only your combined strength is capable of insuring the progression of your race? On equal terms as the free children of God; on equal terms since each is sovereign over his own life; on equal terms as co-inheritors of each, equal in your need of help; equal in your rights and in your duties, you have met together to establish the conditions of your alliance.

Know that on the maintenance of that equality depends the preservation of real *liberty*—through which alone can come the true fraternal organisation of humanity.

Without it, all is anarchy and contention, the anarchy of slavery, the contention of tyrants for precedence.

Did no such voice come down from heaven when the second Cain (the tyrant) slew—not the body, but the soul of his brother? Yet, with the lesson of ages before us, should we not ere this have learned the wisdom of that first law of humanity? Equal freedom, there can be no other enduring bond of union. Should some moral tempest scatter to the winds the conventional forms which now enchain *society* (for so we call even our present savage herding together), we could only remodel social life upon this law. It is the law promulgated by Him whom eighteen centuries have worshipped as Divine, worshipping Him without understanding, for in the formal enunciation of that law of equal freedom lies the true meaning of Christianity; it is the law already accepted as the only ground of union by revolutionary France; it is the law which all men yet shall recognise, when the last of the usurpers shall be overthrown, and the peoples work together at the broad altar of Democracy to swear to maintain the Republics of the free.

And now, look at two pictures of slavery, common enough and well-known. Let them be brought forward and some application made of their unmitigated horrors; an application to be taken to men's firesides, for closest questioning.

Our first picture is negro-slavery in America.

A slave—said the Louisana Code—is in the power of the master to whom he belongs. The master may sell him, dispose of his person, his industry, his labour; he can do nothing, possess nothing, nor acquire anything, but which must belong to his master.

The definition is very precise. "Slaves shall be deemed, taken, refuted, and adjudged," said the South Carolina laws—"to be chattels personal in the hands of their masters, and possessions to all intents and purposes whatsoever." Baptist ministers in the Southern States declared that "the will of the master may lawfully annul the marriage of the slave, or compel him to marry

again," to keep up the stock of the Estate. "Religion clinches Law."

The Methodist conference decreed that the testimony of a coloured member of their churches should not be received against a white. The slave was driven by the lash to work from which he could derive no property, yet these slaveholders were, as slaveholders all over the world are, assessors of the rights of property. The slave was cared for or worked up according to which process was most profitable to his owner. He had a wife and children only for his owner's use, or abuse.

And if he dared attempt to escape from this hell upon earth, he was hunted down like a wild beast, with bloodhounds and rifles, by the slaveholder and his accomplices.

Here was slavery carried out to its utmost, a slavery so naked that it really shocked the sensitiveness of many well-dressed slave-dealers on this side of the Atlantic.

Our second picture of slavery is that of woman in the slave markets and seraglios of the East. We will not unveil its beastliness.

Well, slavery in what are politely called free countries may not be so horrible as this; but is the principle there? If nearer home you can trace *the principle* which caused the horrors of America and Asia, know that there is slavery, the same wrong, if not to the same extent—the same evil with whatever pretty names we may have christened it. Hear what the truest freeman and noble servant of his country even unto death—hear what Algernon Sidney said of slavery: "The weight of chains, number of stripes, hardness of labour, and other effects of a master's cruelty, may make one servitude more miserable than another; but he is a slave who serves the best and gentlest man in the world, as well as he who serves the worst, if he *must* obey his commands and depend upon his will."

Working-men of England, *for* whom but not *by* whom the laws are made, on whose will do your lives depend? Upon your own, or upon others? You are slaves, and yet the poorhouse skilly is not mock turtle.

If, in some of the newspapers, which find readers even among the most careless, you read of men whom stump-orators call free, and of children, the children of these same freemen, tasked against their will and beyond their strength, deprived of all hope of benefit of their labour, uneducated, ill-fed, and poorly housed and clad, treated in all respects like rascally blacks, driven by blows, or hunger, worse than blows, to daily toil, and used up or allowed to retire on a superannuation of disease and famine, according as seems most conducive to their employers' profits, their wretched lives ever chained to degradation and vice, denied all healthy development of their natures, all fair opportunity of virtue, and if they dare attempt to alter or escape from this servitude, brought back by force and atrocious punishments ;—if you read of labourers—the mass of the population of a country, who are the possession to all intents and purposes of the landowner, or whoever is rich enough to rule the market to which they must resort ; who can be used as beasts of burden, or cleared off the land as may seem best to their masters ;—if you hear of service, not voluntary nor mutual, nor the answering of the natural law of union, but a hard necessity, the result of the iniquitous arrangements of human usurpation—the servant compelled to obey those arrangements by arbitrary threats of hunger, of destitution, and injury ;—if you learn that in any country the mass, or say only great numbers of the people, their persons, their industry, their property (so much or so little indeed as they can possess), are not in their own hand, but under the power of another class of men, who dispose of them as they think fit, pressing this man as a soldier, kidnapping this other for a sailor, branding the third as a convict, and the fourth as a pauper, driving their wives into the streets to prostitute themselves for the maintenance of their beggared babes ;—if you see that the inhabitants of any place are submitted to the dictation of thieves, who order their work and wages, and leave their souls to the misleading of knavish hirelings ;—if you know of men starving by the million in the midst of plenty, while others feed on vilest garbage, though the production of their own toil is more than sufficient for their sustenance ;—if you hear of calcula-

tions of the hours that children may work without perishing—of women and children sacrificed as matter of economy when men would cost too much ;—when you hear of human beings, not as a fearful and lamentable occasional necessity, but as a regular occupation and deliberate ordering of society, imprisoned for life in the foulest circumstances, physical and moral, for the sake of so much per cent. to respectable jailers ;—when you know that women may not lawfully unite themselves with men unless they surrender the natural right of sovereignty and stoop to be the property and possession of their lords, having no power over their own persons, so that they may “do nothing, possess nothing, nor acquire anything but which must belong to their masters ;”—when you are told that in regions nearer home than the Seraglio there are regular markets wherein even girls of ten or twelve years old are sold to gentlemanly disease and lust, and that in the very heart of the land we tolerate schools of the filthiest obscenity ;—when you hear of such things and find in addition that every attempt at *radical* alteration is punished as a crime, and every denunciation of the evil denounced as an attack upon “law and order,” to be repelled with curses and injury ;—when yet further you are aware that the ministers of religion and justice are bribed to aid and abet the manifold enormities of their time, that the “independent” teachers of the people dare not speak their real thought, but lie and palter continually, from the press and from the pulpit, for fear of public execration, or haply ex-officio prosecutions, outrage, fine and imprisonment ; and that men, meeting their fellows in the daily haunts of life, in the very stench of such doings, dare not talk of the plague surrounding them, but poison each other with infectious hypocritical breath, as if lying was a most religious rite and right salutary custom ;—when you have well weighed these things, be not content with complacently congratulating yourselves, saying to one another—What excellent and delightful customs these are !—neither, if you hear them called in question by certain hardy blasphemers of Almighty Custom, think it enough to say—It is worse still in the West or in the East ; but whisper to your own souls that all these things are manifestations

of Slavery; and ask, not idly, how you can redeem the sufferers, even if they are not yourselves. Why do I say—If you read of, and learn and discover such things? You have read them, each of you some of them in his own life; you may all of you find this Devil's Scripture in any daily paper of "free and great and glorious" Britain. They are here: about our path, and about our beds, companioning us everywhere. Are you so blind that standing in the broad glare of day you cannot see the fetters that are clinging around you? or have you grown so callous through long suffering, so benumbed and torpid from ages of oppression, that you do not feel the iron enter into your soul? O blind and slow of heart! was it not rightly said—that you must understand what Freedom is before you can see even your own Slavery? Take the film from your eyes; dare to use your own understandings! Look at our factories, at our fields; look into our prisons and penitentiaries, our penal colonies, worse than ever Sodom and Gomorrah; and into those pleasant homes and hospitals of our outworn poor, the poorhouses—the poorhouses where the brutalized young children may be seen like apes with down upon their faces, till we learn to thank God in our bitterness that His image cannot be effaced. Look into our street of prostitutes, our regular markets to supply the necessary consumption. And do not forget to question the "words" that fill our churches and our chapels with the smoke of an idle sacrifice. Nay, look into your homes, be they never so virtuous, or so happy, for there are wives and children and servants. Try, like men in earnest upon the track, if you cannot detect the trail of the old serpent of Slavery, the fiend that robes you under cover of the night. Wheresoever you may find it, grapple with it till it shall be no more. Spare it not—neither in the sanctuary, nor at your own hearth! Slay the accursed! For while it exists is neither worth, nor hope, nor honest happiness, for man.

Voluntary Slavery.

But what if a man chooses to be a slave? Seeing that the

tyrant is like God, wise and benevolent, caring for his slave, even as a father for his child. Or seeing that the tyrant—or tyrants (the old Greeks called all absolute rulers Tyrants)—are of his own choice, that his own shoulders helped to carry them to power.

Or seeing that his rents or profits come in duly, or that his wages are regular.

Why need a man trouble himself by too curiously considering whether he is a slave or a free-man, so long as the collar does not gall him, and especially if it may be gilded?

What matters whether it be called liberty or slavery, if all is well with him?

Play the pendulum between thy desk or work-bench and thy hearth, marking the dead moments of thy monotonous life! Thou workest, thou sleepest.

What matters who is master? While thou keepest out of the *Gazette* or the poorhouse, what difference to thee between slavery and freedom?

Little perhaps, if man's life is but a lethargic dream, the hereafter a foolish tale, and duty a word without meaning.

But the natural and proper course of a man's life is action, the active search after truth; this life is but a stage of our existence, man owes duty to humanity, virtue to eternity, and life to God.

Virtue is free will. If a man acts only on compulsion, how can his act be virtuous? Or what virtue is there in the act which a man does only by the allowance of another?

To seek after truth—to be truth's diligent follower, servant, and wooer—this is man's duty upon earth. But how follow truth if any stand between him and truth?

If the tyrant's will, or the tyrant's law, is the rule of a man's morality, how can he serve truth?

He may be allowed or ordered so to do: or he may not. Either way he acts not of his own free will. But if of my free will I submit to slavery?

That is to say if of my free will I surrender my free will. Compulsion cannot be free will, nor can slavery be aught but slavery.

The slave is he whose will is overruled by another. The free-man is he whose life has no other master but God.

If a tyrant order me to do evil, I will disobey him, not only because of the evil, but to vindicate my will.

If he order me to do good, though I will do good, it shall be because it is good : and I will make it clear that I act from no obedience to him. I should be, not a man, but a mere machine, if his will could be my motive.

Though one be never so wise, he cannot live for me, nor dictate my life. My acts must be my own. I may sometimes defer to his great wisdom—but if I do this unwillingly, and not of my own judgment, belief, and will, exercised at each act, I am a slave.

I may not give my life to another ; nor let my acts bow down to another's will. For *my* life is not *mine*, but God's. The power of wilful action was given me by God in order that it should be used, not to be abdicated whenever I may think some other wiser than myself.

If one may submit in one act, why not in a series of acts in a life ? If one may submit to another, why may not two, or more ?

If the husband may be the master of the wife, why may not the Czar be lord of all mankind ?

My smallest action should be because of its seeming good to me : not because of the will of another. Let it seem good to me to sometimes please another, that may be well. But let it seem good.

If I may surrender my will and judgment of good or evil consequence to the will and judgment of another even in the lightest action, why may I not in the weightiest ? Where fix the boundary between unimportant and important ? But the lightest action is important having an eternity depending on it.

If I do well only to please another, or only at another's bidding, why should I do ill at the same pleasure or command ? That is, if another's will is my law, instead of my own judgment of right and wrong.

Obedience. There is submission of the judgment out of respect to what is judged to be the better judgment of another, when it is

clear to us that on a certain matter the other's judgment is better than our own. There is no other obedience possible to him who would be a free-man, a lover and worshipper of virtue.

Human laws are man's interpretations of the moral law of God ; that is to say, whenever they are not the mere edicts of tyrants.

Shall I let my neighbour interpret God's law for me, and take no thought for myself of what may be its meaning ?

Suppose he makes a wrong interpretation. His law is bad ; and I—shall I obey it ?

It is a question only between one and one. Let him interpret as he likes. What is that to me ? He is no law-giver to me.

But when the question is between me and the many ? Shall I neglect to utter my idea of the meaning of God's law, and leave the many to interpret for me, and to compel my obedience to their interpretation ?

I will rebel.

Ay ! rather be a slave. For I have no right to stoop to the yoke of another's interpretation. As before said, if I may submit to be guided in one matter, I may in all, and so in harness of other's law be driven into the worst of evil.

But better than that first silence and the remedy of rebellion would be the endeavour to make my interpretation of God's law clear to my fellows. So our conference might prevent rebellion, I possibly enlightening them, they possibly convincing me.

For the one everlasting duty of man is to endeavour to make God's will (the Law of life) known and so "done on earth." To make it known by our words and by our works. Therefore should we take counsel together, in order the more readily to discover *the law* and to aid each other in carrying it out.

If law is good for anything it is as a rule of life. Nay, every law, however imbecile its origin, affects some action of a man's life.

Every action ought to be in harmony with God's law ; how shall that be if any part of human law is not in accordance with it ?

Then a man has no more right to abstain from his part in

making the laws which are to regulate his life (or, at least, some portion of his life), than he has to hire himself out as an assassin, to any tyrant that may need him. For the assassin is only a slave ; one who has submitted his conscience to the will of another.

And what else but a slave is he who suffers another to make laws which shall bind his actions against his conscience ? He is the assassin of so much good which but for him would be living in the world.

Lo, a virtuous woman, who has no will but that of her husband ! A virtuous machine ! a free slave ! a truthful liar !

And the honest citizen who troubles himself not about the laws, except to obey them ! The patriot who suffers lies to be the tyrants of his country ! The honest dutiful citizen who cares not whether truth or falsehood *rule* the land ! The slave who waits till the collar galls him !

Virtue is free worship of truth. The automaton that utters the truest words, the machine that acts correctly, is not virtuous. Again and again, there is no virtue without will. A slave cannot be virtuous.

A man sits by his hearth, and says : Let who will make the laws, so long as they do not impede my growth or thwart my will, while my conscience is safe, why should I disturb myself ? Man's business is to worship truth. What is this but to make God's will—which is truth—manifest on earth ? How shall he do this if he separate himself from humanity ?

If thou art of the illuminated, let thy light shine before men ; if thou art dark mayest thou not find help among thy fellows ?

“Let who will go wrong so long as they do not constrain me to join them.” Is this a virtuous worship of truth ?

But such unconcern does of itself impede growth and interfere with action. The man who has no concern with humanity, has shut himself out of the path of truth. Is truth a mere relative to thee ? Think somewhat of the nature of truth, and learn that alone thou canst not worship it.

Truth leaves him who will not follow her beyond his threshold.

Man's life is not his own. He owes it to humanity, of which he is an integral part.

He owes it to eternity, whose harvests shall follow from his acts. He owes it to God, the Spirit of truth, who gave life to him, to be used truthfully.

And thou sayest—I may be a slave if I will ; say rather, I am a slave when I cease to will.

Fool ! Fool ! if I will at all, I am no longer a slave.

I am a slave only when I do not exert my will. *Whenever I do not exert it.*

But men who would hold their lives as a drawn sword if any tyrant presumed to reign over them, sheathe themselves in bestial submission to the tyrants of their own appointing.

Between the elected and the self-elected, says one who thought like a free man, I see certainly some difference, but of choice I see none ; and be their means of coming to the throne diverse, yet always their manner of reigning is much the same.

And what matters it whether the Czar violently set his foot upon our necks, or we ourselves assist in the enthroning of some pettier tyrant or tyrants ? Except that in the latter case our degradation is the more complete.

For the freest souled may be overcome by force ; but only the slave consents to fashioning his own fetters.

And what matters it whether we bow down to the one tyrant, or to the many ? Except that the many have a firmer tread upon our necks ; especially if they may equal us in number.

Whether one tyrant or many, whether the style and title be King Force, or the honourable Mr. Accomplice—whether the slave be turbulent or contented—slavery remains the same—a lie flung in the face of God, who made man in His own image, free, and truthful.

We will say nothing of the injury done to our children when we leave them only a heritage of slavery. Time was that men walked

uprightly, not asking whether it was toward the scaffold or the battlefield: throwing their lives upon a cast for freedom, for the future, for God. But now we are more practical.

And yet, if the tongued flame might touch the foreheads of the prone, out of this slough of self-contempt which is pointed at as England, might arise a nation of free-men worthy to inherit the land of Eliot, Hampden and Milton.

Non-Intervention and Fair-Play.

It is the fashion to talk of non-intervention as the rule of English policy. But non-intervention is not the rule.

The rule of English policy is utter denial of any relation of duty towards the world, utter contempt of Justice and disregard of Honour; care only for the shop, and for our allies the despots, whose welfare is supposed to be identical with the shop.

Lacking a name to characterise so revolting, so hideous a system, they have christened it "*non-intervention*"—par excellence, the "peace-policy."

Do we not love Peace? Truly we do; but we love Justice more. And till Peace and Justice be synonymous, while "Peace" means anything but Justice, we would not have "Peace."

We object to the pretence which hinders the real advent of Peace.

We object to those who, when the streets run with blood, exclaim, "It is peace," simply because none of their own family have been murdered. This is the non-intervention policy, if carried out consistently.

We object to those who, when a town is on fire, refuse to lend a hand to extinguish it, because their house has party-walls. The non-interventionists again.

We object to those who assert that they are excused from the duties of humanity, they have no quarrel with Injustice, because of their "geographical position" or "peculiar constitution"; that their moral position depends on the geographical, Justice on some peculiarity in their constitution. This is the creed of the

non-interventionists. Our most Christian statesmen, when told to love their neighbours, do not indeed ask who are their neighbours, but openly plead in bar their "geographical position."

We object to the "Peace"-preservers whose souls are branded with the shame of complicity with the massacres of Galicia and the bombardment of Rome, and whose hands are red with the blood of the Punjab.

We object to such "Peace" as won for Louis Philippe the title of the "Napoleon of Peace," the applause and fellowship of those who support, and are supported by, the policy of non-intervention: the "peaceful" policy which betrayed Poland and Italy, which invented African razzias; the "Peace" which needed a Spanish marriage for its maintenance, with Soulonque the Second as its just and most logical reward.

The patron-saint and friend and exempter of the Traders-in-peace—the master of the non-intervention school—was at war with Africa during the seventeen years of his most peaceful reign, as the men of Lyons and the Rue Transnovain might testify. But the African war did not affect the Shop.

The cry of non-intervention is not honest. It is a cant word to deceive the nation. The non-intervention of English diplomats and tradesmen is an excuse for occasions, when the Shop is in danger, or when liberty fights against odds. It is not used else.

Our geographical position and peculiar constitution prevented us from interfering to rescue Rome from the barbarians, to aid the development of Italian freedom proclaimed and promised by our agents when a purpose was to be served.

Meanwhile, our geographical position and peculiar constitution allowed us to pocket the King of Mosquito. But then the cost was very small.

Our peculiar constitution prevented us from intervening to stay the massacres of Galicia; our geographical position debarred us from maintaining the stipulations of our own treaties with regard to Cracow.

But when the Liberals of Oporto went nigh to overthrow a

worthless Court, then we could interfere to ruin the Liberals, though acknowledging that Right was on their side.

The same game was talked of towards Switzerland; but the Swiss settled their affairs before the non-interveners could interfere.

It is non-intervention when such policy may serve the cause of Despotism: then only. For the Shop is believed to depend on Court custom. So they hold together. If you have any doubt of that matter, read—not the news, but the state of the Funds. They rise and fall with Despotism. They indicate exactly the peculiar constitution of the non-intervening Traders, no matter what may be the geographical position of their correspondents—the Despots.

But we “are wronging the Peace-men.” “They would interfere for Justice.” Would? Yes, Hell may be very handsomely paved with their own intentions. “They would interfere persuasively;” and, while cities are being bombarded and sacked, talk quietly in and out of Parliament, it does not matter where, yet not too loudly lest some friendly King of Bombarders may hear them, of the wondrous power of gentleness. “How much better it would be to arbitrate these quarrels!” “Then our trade need not be interrupted.” Whereupon, some laugh in their sleeves: all, perhaps, except the cossocks, who have not yet learned politeness.

“Arbitrate,” say the most eminent of the non-interventionists—those who deny national duty and make a mock of national honour—Arbitrate! But there can be no arbitration between Right and Wrong. It is a quarrel to the death.

What arbitration between Italy or Hungary and the Austrian Emperor; between Rome and the Pope; Naples and the Bourbon; or between Poland and the Czar?

What arbitration, or say compromise, between Ledru-Rollin and Louis “Bonaparte,” between the oppressed and their oppressor; between Liberty and Despotism?

Do the “arbitrators” propose to arbitrate in the case of Ireland?

Arbitration *now* could mean but one thing: a convention of all the *existing* Governments, an agent never more to quarrel but to uphold each other *against their Peoples*.

For, say the supreme arbitration is agreed upon. What is that to Sicily, to Rome, to Lombardy, to Hungary, to Poland?

Say Poland. Poland will not be recognised or represented in your Court. She revolts against the "Three" Powers. She can never arbitrate. What becomes of your peaceful arbitrament? We ask it of those who may honestly think that any supreme court of arbitration can prevent war so long as Injustice rules the earth.

There may be such a supreme court of arbitration *when the earth shall be divided into nations*, instead of kingdoms—when the world shall be organised, not as now, parcelled out to please the caprices of statecraft, without regard to nationality, in defiance even of geographical position and peculiar constitution.

But there can be no arbitration till Despotism is no more; no Peace till Justice rules the world. Let the utopian Peace-men cease to be utopian; and, no longer giving countenance to the Traders-in-peace, consider how practically to advance Peace. They will so accomplish more than by repeating a parrot cry or by any premature conventions.

For, though Peace is yet an unmeaning word upon the earth, Duty should have significance. And only by close following of Duty, though it be through the cannon-smoke, and over blood-stained fields, can Peace be permanently secured.

If a robber would attack my house, meaning to outrage my sister or slay my children, shall I seek peace with him to-day, knowing that he would return to-morrow to repeat his attack? Or shall I stand courteously on the threshold, and bid him pass to his work, in the name of Peace objecting to interfere? Will I not rather slay him on the spot?

Would I talk of Peace in the forests, till the last wolf's head was on my spear?

Aid the wronged and the weak! Gird up thy loins dutifully to follow Justice *wherever she may lead thee*.

O most desired Peace ! whom the true, the beautiful-natured, alone can really love or perceive, where shall I worship thee ? Shall I not be first in my own conscience ? There, at least, will I maintain a service, whatever storms may rage around me, overthrowing thine altars in the high places of the world.

And how at peace with conscience, if I shirk, for any *quiet's* sake, my duty to the suffering ?

Yes ! for the sake of true Peace, the peace which passeth the understanding of the non-interveners, I will make no dishonourable truce with Injustice, whatever may be its geographical position or peculiar constitution.

But we are told that non-intervention is but a new phrase for our old English *fair play*. It is a lie : the old English maxim was not the "non-intervention" of modern peace-men.

Old English *fair play* was to stand by in a *doubtful quarrel*, to see then that the trial by battle was conducted without odds on either side.

This is very different from the "interference in behalf of non-interference" (how choice and logical a sentence !) which even "Friends" of Italy and Hungary were not ashamed to recommend.

Old English *fair play* never meant hanging back from a quarrel which was not doubtful, meant not shirking thorough service to our "Friends."

Fair play never meant indisposition or refusal to take the side of Right, because the quarrel was "none of ours."

It matters not how high the authority which may endorse the modern acceptance, by telling us that England might rest content with preventing intervention, with providing for "fair play" between any oppressed nation and its particular oppressor. If the highest told us so, we would still reply, that the doctrine is false and damnable.

It is not enough merely to keep off two from one. Is not one to one odds sometimes ? Where lies the question ?

Fair play indeed! What *fair* play between Right and Wrong, between Weakness and Force, between *the fair and the foul*?

Between two honest, two equally-respected combatants maintain fair play. See that *your friends play fairly*.

But when known Wrong is in the field, and the fight is to the death, step in no longer with an useless wand, but with fierce sword, as a champion for the Right. The herald's part has ceased; Banners, advance!

Fair play! It is no longer play, but work. Strike in! fairly of course; and let the Foul take care of themselves.

And now see how curses (as the proverb says) always "come home to roost."

You deny your *duty* to your neighbour. Ha! who is my neighbour? Next relation is "no relation." Have done with patriotism too! To-morrow we will cease weeping at that home-tragedy, because it is "in another parish."

Read sentimental, peaceful Lamartine's non-intervention programme (of March, 1848); and track it to its interesting logical conclusion—Cavaignac's June massacres as the "beginning of the end," and the 2nd Dec. for winding up—an elegant peroration that should teach the inmost hearts of all Englishmen not too thickly crusted over with the cowardly, atheistic, or sordid theories of "peace" and "minding one's own business."

Like causes produce like results. Whither are we too travelling?

Notice that the Manchester non-interventionists and the canting "peace"-men were just the men who, pretending liberalism, yet openly or secretly endeavoured to prevent *the franchise for every Englishman*.

Of course; as men of expedients and huckstering compromises, self-seekers, cowards, and atheists, scoffers at principle, and utterly without understanding of the divine significance of *duty*, what other conduct could we expect from them?

But ask them if non-intervention is fair play ! Yes, sir ; *non-intervention* between the Czar and yet bleeding Poland ; and *fair play* between a well-garrisoned ministry and the "million or so" of British helots, who will not dare even claim the benefit of the last dodge—"to be *only rated* to the poor."

CHAPTER VII.

RELIGION, GENIUS, AND REPUBLICANISM.

Religion, Genius and Republicanism. A Church and a Republic. Religious Worship.

RELIGION is the bringing man toward God. The priest is the minister of religion. And the highest priest—say some—is the Pope.

Saint Peter, from whom those Popes pretend to derive their special title to sanctity, was truly a minister of religion, a con-fronter of iniquity, an earnest endeavourer to bring man toward God. At least, so says the legend. He was no fawner upon Cæsar, no accomplice of imperial villains ; neither a Vitellius nor a Caligula would have got his benediction. Iscariot himself had been ashamed of such a task as that which is imposed in our day upon the "Successor of St. Peter."

Vicar of Christ—a Ruffian's Valet!—High Priest of the true God—Worshipper of the Baboon Idol whose filthiness is set up in the shambles by the pious atheists of France. These are the titles which the Head of the Catholic Church would unite for the good of Christendom.

The "Catholic" may be as honest as the Protestant. The peculiarities of his creed may be as creditable as those of Protestantism. There are doubtless many honest Catholics, even in Ireland, who loathe the scandal of an alliance between the infallible Pontiff and the blood-stained, perjured "Napoleon." But the *Papal* Church consented to that alliance with Rascality ; consented to lend him the altar as a footstool, to lend him the

white garments of the priesthood that he may wipe with them the accumulated filth from his bloody hands. Every Frenchman may see that the scarlet of the priest's vestments is the blood shed on the 2nd of December. All Europe will know it, and when Justice overtakes the Imperial Miscreant, the Accomplice of his abominations will fall with him. That word Papacy is written on the gallows. Since Pope Pius mistook the "Saviour of Society" for the "Son of God" the Papacy is no more.

Priests of God! We are not without them even in Protestant England. But which of them, law-ordained or dissenting, has denounced from his pulpit the hideous Blasphemy which, standing with one foot in Paris and one in St. Petersburg, throws its shadow over even this "moral land"? Go into our churches and our chapels; the minister of religion points his finger at some little breaker of a petty ordinance, but he will not lift up his parable against the Royalty of Crime. The "Times" speaks out; but never a bishop or archbishop. For our priests are atheists; and their flocks do credit to their care. They "do not meddle with politics." No! they would bring men near to God only in the after life, when, let us hope, there will be neither Popes nor Protestant Parasites. Here they have revenues to care for, and *Te, Devil, laudamus!* for a weekly service.

But there is religion outside the steeple-house! Though the priest forgets his ministry, the Truth is not without its prophets. At the forsaken altar Genius standeth ministering. Genius should so stand; for ever Genius is sent by God to be His priest, His preacher, His interpreter. Shame, shame and woe to Genius when it forgets its consecration and does the Devil's work instead of God's. Shame when a Rachel prostitutes herself to be something worse than the harlot of the Parisian Felon: worse, for his mistress might plead some blinding wilderment of "love"—such "love" as the veriest hero by strangest chance may possibly inspire. While the Papal hierarchy, from Rome to Dublin, desecrates God's temples with approval of most disgusting Crime, a Rachel profanes the altar of Genius with an echo of the same approval.

Leave poor Pius in his livery. Let him slink back again to his

Vatican, and be at peace till the Spirit of old Rome again rise and kick out the Tiara'd Flunky and his Gallic Dogs. It is long since Popes were anything except accommodating tools of Tyrants. But should Genius play the parasite? Is it not the right of Genius to proclaim God's law even when priests are faithless? Is it not the duty of Genius to keep pure the sacred fire which lights its brow, to hold its head erect, that men, lit by the tongued flame, may see their way to God? Shall Genius stoop its brow to the kennel whenever an Imperial Murderer heads the sheets? And when that Genius is a Woman, shall it be less pure, less holy, less decently upright? A Pope may grasp hands with the Decembrist; but shall a Rachel kiss him and lie trembling at his feet?

Priests pander to successful Wrong; Genius sells itself for a villainous smile, a bouquet with bloody stalks, or a handful of Vespasian's coin careless of the smell! Well, if priests and Genius play false, what is that to us? Shall not the Republican be true?

Read the following from the lips of one of our best Republicans—Charles Delescluze :—

“Cournet was a great and courageous citizen, and the name which he leaves is one of those which will remain as the symbol of political honesty and of an unlimited devotion to the cause of the people. On his deathbed one thought alone occupied Cournet—the Republic and the Revolution.”

And Cournet fell in a duel, as Armand Carrel fell.

Over the new grave of him who stood beside Bandin on the barricades of December, how should we speak censoriously? How should we forget his life's love for France? How either should we be bold to blame that French susceptibility which made the duel imperative? Yet what weight have bravery, undoubted love, or nicest sense of “honour,” against the truth? What is his epitaph? It is written—not for him but for us, that he fell in a duel.

Not “the symbol of political honesty,” not “an unlimited devotion to the cause.” He turned aside upon his personal errand. We may not speak falsely even in praise of the best loved.

A man passes rapidly along the road. His duty is imperative. Haste is urgent. Every minute must be devoted. He steps

aside, gives but a brief while to pick up a flower. He has missed the road. He has failed in his duty. The flower is called *pleasure*. And you curse the selfish voluptuary who for that pleasure forgot the world's work he had to do—he had undertaken to do. Call the flower *honour* instead of *pleasure*. Is it any the more "an unlimited devotion?"

One is intrusted with a treasure to be carried to a certain distance. May he set it down while he fights out some chance quarrel? And when the treasure is a Republican life, to be borne safely to the feet of victory? And when the Republican has devoted this life? Is the abandonment "a symbol of political dishonesty?"

Would Cournet on that December morning in 1851, have deserted the barricade to fight a duel? And why not then as well as at any time afterwards?

His life was not his own. Neither was his honour (by which of course we only mean his reputation). "*Que mon mom soit flétri!—My name be blighted*"—said Danton. I am the Republic's. I may not step out of the ranks for any personal matter. This man Danton—*this life which is called Danton*—is but as a sword in God's hand. It is aimed by God; it waits in His hand till He shall be pleased to strike with it. It leaps not from His hand, nor turns aside from the one direct blow for any selfish purpose.

For what is a Republican? What his cause? His cause is that of Humanity—of God. He is a priest devoted to God. And his whole life is as a religious service. Alas!—what religious service, what devotion unto God, what truth to Humanity, what Republicanism is there in tossing up—heads or tails—whether I or you shall be rendered incapable of any service whatsoever?

The priest may not accept a challenge. Not even a French priest. Wherefore? Because of his sacred calling. Is our Republican mission and vocation less sacred? Or are our services of less worth?

But to be called *Coward*? To be called. Set against the false name the false act. "Coward" or deserter? Choose!

It is a praise of Cournet that on his death-bed one thought alone occupied him—the Republic and the Revolution. If but that one thought had occupied his life we should not now have to lament that death-bed, should not have to lay these stern upbraidings upon a memory else so noble. But the sad examples of Carrel and Cournet must not mislead us.

Sad and every way foolish. Was it Cournet's duty to slay his opponent? If so, it was his duty to choose the likeliest means of slaying him. Was that to turn his own pistol to his own breast and bid his opponent pull the trigger?

Or was it not his duty to slay him? How shall we excuse the Republican who attempts what is not his duty?

His own life belonged to Humanity, was sacred to God. *His whole life*; there could be no reservation of particular half-hours for the sake of duelling excursions. If he did not believe that his whole life was bound to be God's servant, and the servant of Humanity, he was no Republican. Being a Republican, what defence is there for his act?

He was a Frenchman. Nay—we will not accept so insolent an excuse. Would Lamennais so throw away his life? We know truly that certain ages, certain races, have their peculiar weaknesses which extenuate offences. Still the greatest is he who is most above the weaknesses of his time and race. But truth alters not. Our Republican ideal remains the same. Though the noblest ghost should deprecate our reproach, we can not do other than hold up that ideal for true men to copy. The duellist, however noble else, on that one occasion is an egotist, not a Republican.

Are such words harsh? It is so impossible for the best man to be always unerring. Is that any reason for shutting our eyes to his errors? Do errors ever become virtues? Is it possible for men to reach perfection; yet who would not hold up perfection as the mark at which to strive? "There is but one virtue," says George Sand, "the eternal sacrifice of self." Is not that the condemnation of duelling for personal honour's sake? What matters that my name be blighted? My whole life is the Republic's.

In life, as in death, may the Republic be our one thought!

Nor love, nor hate, nor hope, nor joy, nor fear have power to call us from the side of duty ! Our lives are in God's hands.

Had Cournet been my brother and an Englishman, I had spoken these words over his grave. Shall I speak less frankly because he was a Frenchman and my brother in the faith ? Honour to his virtuous life ! Forgiveness for his one fault ! And may both his life and death be useful to Humanity.

A Church and a Republic.

There is a Democracy and there is a Republic. The two things are not necessarily the same. A Republic, truly, can not be other than democratic, being the government of the whole by the whole for the benefit of the whole. But a Democracy may be no government at all.

The United States of America present us with a sample of mere Democracy. There is not government, but only a somewhat inefficient machinery for police purposes and for managing the relations with foreign States. This, perhaps, is what the illogical advocates of the "voluntary system" would call a perfect government. It is not Republican government. It is not the ideal to which we would raise the thoughts of Englishmen.

A "Republic" which abets slavery, which cannot repress outrageous crime, nor harmonise the general interests of its citizens, which knows no duty to the world, a "Republic" which mainly differs from monarchical England in the titles and salaries of its chief officers, and in the one circumstance of its land being not yet all appropriated, a "Republic" whose institutions are not Republican, whose life has been exactly formed in the mould of monarchical England, whose differences from England's habits are seldom more than accidental, whose course and tendency is through the same social tyrannies and religious falsehoods toward the same phases of anarchy and atheism, such a Republic is not worthy of the name. We repeat, that is not the ideal to which we would lift the hopes of Englishmen.

And yet toward America our eyes may turn, looking back to its first colonising, when religious men were careful to found a new England, which should be, not a mere bigger Babel tower of anarchical money-getters, but a lasting temple of the Eternal God. Not that we would renew the fashion of even the purer puritanism of Vane; not that we would acknowledge the dead letter of a Jewish law; but we would revive the puritan's *spirit*, we would uphold the correctness of their perception that man's life is altogether religious, and the business of government nothing less than the organisation of all the powers of life toward one religious aim. For Church and State are one.

The Church and State are one; this is different from a State and a State-Church. That abomination of priestcraft, that division of the people into clergy and laity, that severance of man's life into two parts—religious and secular, was the fatal error of the Papacy. Though they sought thereby to unite the world, believing that only on such a spiritual ground men could unite, their error was not the less. Its anti-Christian results are manifest again, infallible monsters and ecstatic monomaniacs in "the Church" whether papal or "reformed," and outside, as compensation in the balance, the weaknesses and conceited follies of a secular atheism. Humanity is not to be so cut in twain. The cup is for the whole people, as John Huss would have it. The whole people is the priesthood, in them alone is the right of electing their high priests. And as everyone is priest, so the life of everyone should be priestly; altogether so; the office sacred, the calling, the functions, and the conduct, altogether holy and devoted.

At present, as we have our division of the body politic, the State, into two sets, one set of men to "serve God," and another to "do the work of man," so we have every man likewise divided by two doctrines, one for Sundays and the other for "week days." Or rather, we have a division of theory and practice, the theory being reserved for appointed times, under the direction of the clergy; and the practice for all but those appointed times, after the "guidance" of a magistracy. There is no occasion for the *Sunday* theory and the work day practice to accord; our religion

is not represented in the "House," and politics are not proper in the "Church." So a devilish dualism ruins the whole of life, breaking our integrity, preventing all directness and earnestness of action, making us vacillators, compromising, unstable, and incapable of natural growth or progress.

Credo : I believe. The animal exists : the man believes. The creed is the essential distinction of humanity. I believe. A parrot might be taught to utter the word : but there is no manhood in the mere utterance. I believe is but the beginning of a sentence. What is it I believe ? That ascertained, as nearly as I can ascertain it, and knowing that belief is life, I may go to work. I find that, *I believe in God, in the Power of Truth, whose Word and Work is Justice, whose Spirit is the Beauty of Eternity. I believe that human life is an emanation from God, and that it naturally aspires toward God. I believe therefore that as the origin is one, and the aim also one, so the course and government of life should be one, that everything should be made serviceable to the one end.* So believing in the oneness of life, and duty deduced therefrom, how can I tolerate the division of life into religious and secular, into parson life and parliament life, into work-day mammon worship and Sunday-lip service toward God ?

Whatever our creed is, that we should act out, through every portion of our lives. What is our English creed ? Not mine, not yours, but the creed of the time ! The creed of the time ! Be sure, if you will take the trouble, you will find an overwhelming majority upon certain important principles of action : *that is the creed of the time.* Let the majority act upon it. If the creed of this time is such Christianity as is taught in our churches and chapels, let it not hide in them, to be shown to us only once or twice a week and then thrust out of sight like a dirty surplice ! but let it come out and rule us in Parliament and in the marketplace, and be master in the streets and fields, yea ! even in our secretest chambers. How shall this be unless the believers of this creed organise their worship, making of themselves a church, *whose doctrines shall be law ?* If they believe it to be Gospel, shall it not be also Law ? The law and the gospel should be one.

And here let us mark the distinction to be made between *principles and opinions*. Opinions will be as various as the minds of men. We want not unity, but the utmost possible diversity of opinion. But principles, the beginnings of action, the grounds from which actions start, are far more easily agreed to. Opinions are but parts of ourselves; principles are truths independent of us.

We do want unity of these last. Without it we have no coherence in society, no possibility of government, no stability on which to build the future. Mark well this difference between principle and opinion.

The creed of the majority becomes law. That is right. It is right that they should use their power in endeavouring to realise their theory of life. Is their theory right? Though only as a temporary theory, they will be successful in accordance with its rightness. Is it wrong, it will fail; so at least some of them may be convinced, and a new majority begin a new experiment. Am I in a minority? Let me work as earnestly as the majority, not denying the right of the greater number to organise and so best use their powers, but endeavouring to win a majority to my faith. Give me but "the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience," and all shall be well with me, and with those others also. For at worst their earnestness will bring them true experience.

If, indeed, *the most of us* believe in gold as the only God, in the absoluteness of personal interests, and such solidarity as can be got out of that, rather than in the oneness of human aim and aspiration, then let that belief be explicitly and boldly uttered, organised, and carried through. If money-getting is the aim of every life, and the Church business of very doubtful utility, except, indeed, for some contingent reversions elsewhere, let us frame our state, our polity, our life accordingly, and supplement our free-trade and economical Acts of Parliament with not only a parliamentary Book of Common Prayer, but with parliamentary provisions for the whole parsonising process, with cheaper division of employments—why not all by machinery, with much saving

of cost, and gain of certainty in the making, to say nothing of variety of patterns to suit the tastes of all folk, and accommodate the peculiarities of those in need of "religious influence." So our Anarchy shall at least avoid the reproach of double-mindedness, and our Incoherencies be as coherent as the "solidarity of interests" may permit. This would be the perfection of a "Secular" State, which would just provide religious toys, not too expensively, for its babes and fools.

Or if life should be a religious service; if God, or Truth, exists; if the religious bond, the Godward aspiration which gives birth to duty, is indeed the law of our nature; still let us beware how we sever religion and polity, theory and practice, belief and deed. They must be one even as life is one. They must be harmoniously according, or our life will be a discord. Is it not so even now?

How Church and State shall become one: the Church not prostituted to the State as now, but married to it to the bringing forth of a righteous national life; this lies beyond our singular dictation.

Enough to point out the error of a divided and dual life, haply to the convincing some earnest few to the necessity of integrity—which is *the wholeness of truth* in all things, in a State as well as in an individual. Nay, of how much more consequence in a State than in an individual. Some few convinced of this may, by patient striving, win a majority to believe so much, and then the *how it shall be accomplished* will be brought in question.

Certainly it will not be accomplished by believers rubbing their hands and saying—Ah, presently: business is very brisk just now.

Religious Worship.

Life is a progress and an ascension. The vivifying flame breathed into us by God soars ever upwards towards God.

We believe in the immortality of the soul. This earthly life is but one stage of our existence.

Government is educational. The object of Government is to assure the progress of all, to discover and to apply the laws of

God for the elevation of Humanity. The State is not merely a policeman or a purveyor of the kitchen. Neither is the educational function of Government applicable only to the young. Life from birth to death is but a school time, and the oldest have yet their lessons.

Are they only to learn of the things which pass not beyond this "grave-rounded" life? Shall they not also inquire of their relation to eternity? Life is one, however many may be its stages.

The aspirations of mankind are heavenward. The religious feeling, the sentiment which makes God the beginning and the end of all, which looks upon past, present, and future, as links of one great change of being—is too universal and important to be left to chance. For is not this the basis of our whole scheme of duty? The organisation of religious worship is, therefore, a part of the business of Government.

In the name of religious freedom the individual claims a right not only to think but to preach and proselytise.

Shall the minority, even the unit, have this freedom, and the majority, the State, be restrained? In the name of what? Of anarchy?

Shall the prophet or apostle have full liberty to prophesy and proclaim God's truth, and when the general consent of mankind has confirmed his assertion—shall religious freedom forbid the organised publication of the gospel?

Shall every little sect possess its chapel: and the State, the Nation, have no church, no place wherein to remind men even of truths the most generally acknowledged? Or shall the State be trusted with the education of our youth, the training of the rising generation in the principles of morality, and yet not be empowered to express its definition of those principles?

Shall it hold the right to apply a moral law to the young and yet have no means of developing it, of publishing it before the elders of the people?

The doctrines inculcated in the State school, shall they not be the doctrines expounded in the State Church?

Truly, a State Church should not descend to the trivialities of

creeds. These, peculiar to individual minds, and if accurately examined, almost as various, must be left altogether to individuals. Let the sects in their private chapels, or possibly meeting in turn within the national temples (taken out of monopolist hands and restored to the nation's use), adopt what divisional rituals may please them. The State Church must be the Church of the Nation, the utterer and echo of its faith, the explainer of the general truths of the relation of Humanity toward God.

One would not now dare even attempt to draw up a form of faith, nor prescribe a form of national worship, nor indicate who should be its ministers or how the service should be arranged.

Only when they who now usurp the throne and the altar shall give place to the whole people, when the people shall be both king and priest, will it be possible to organise a national worship.

But will there be occasion for this when every man shall be his own priest, when his daily life will be a prayer, a thanksgiving, or a sermon, a continual service in the temple of Humanity? Even then the ceremonial association of one with another will not be a mere idle form.

Now the new-born child (we note not the baptism into sectarianism—speaking here of national matters) is registered by the State, but registered as one might enter in an account book the increase of stock.

Then the presentation in the temple will be of one more servant to society, one more worker to the world; the public recognition by the State of the nation's duty toward a new member, in virtue of the equal right, all society standing sponsor for it; it will be the admission, not merely formal and of one without will into some narrow congregation, but of one denoted as a priest in one of the national churches of Humanity.

For "confirmation" there will be the vow of the boy and girl, as of the Greek of old, "to make their country greater and more glorious;" and the public investiture of the young man or woman with the full rights and faculties of citizenship.

In the temple also will the loving publicly fulfil their troth (no matter what added ceremony peculiar views may enjoin), and, as

men learn a purer morality, no lighter or less holy connection will degrade the race. There, too, the patriot will receive the olive or the oaken garland : old age be crowned with silver honour ; and when the course is run—there, too, the very unbeliever will approach and listen, no longer shocked by formal anathemas, to the loving, hopeful words which the true may lay upon the grave of even the most estranged by the variance of speculation. Nor need religious services be merely ceremonial.

There shall likewise be the perpetual ministration of the priests of human life : the preaching and aspiring prayer of our poets, our prophets ; why not also those “ sermons in stones,” the accuracies of science no longer sceptical but wisely reverent—tracking from the very vestiges of creation the harmony and wonderful growth of life. All things above the actual business of the day will find their expression in our ritual, nor even the commonest avocations be divorced from the religious.

Again, mankind will assemble in their temples to frame their laws to formulise God's law in adaptation to human occasions, to take council together how best to magnify and exalt their country for the service of Humanity, for the glory of the Eternal.

That Englishmen should be jealous of any State Church is natural enough, not only because our popular struggles hitherto have been solely for individual freedom, not yet generally understood as preparative of the organisation of freemen—and so any concentration of power seems repugnant to the habit of our thought (not always to be so), but also because our State Church, at least since it was reformed, has been nothing but a greedy corporation, an unspiritual stepmother, growing fat upon our unremitted service, starving our minds and exacting from the sweat of our brows—utterly careless of our education, and altogether alien to the nature which has outgrown even the possibility of her directing it.

But when the Republic shall be established, when every man and woman shall be recognised as God's priest in virtue of human life, then it will be understood that individual freedom may be preserved intact even while men associate in common

forms ; the faith, the aspirations of the majority will find a voice, a formulised expression, age after age, will change the formula in accordance with the growth of life.

Even now, notwithstanding all the chances that divide us, and the innumerable difficulties in the way of understanding one another, thoughtful men are seeking for some common worship, anxious to discover some temple yet unmonopolised by sectarian intolerance, wherein they may at least associate in the expression of a general hope, in the exercise of that faculty of adoration which distinguishes man from the beast ; where, too, the millions who have no church, nor creed, nor ritual, might assemble, and learn from the higher natured there kneeling beside them, the ennobling lessons of a faith in the future.

The first stone of that temple may be laid by our Republican organisation. We associating, no matter in what rude huts, may form the first congregation of believers.

But the State Church can only be when we have indeed a State, a national power—a Republic.

Then men without fear of power, for power will be their own, themselves—will acknowledge that it is not enough to organise and rule the secular concerns of life ; but that the religious, that which links the generation to Eternity, needs also and even more urgently and primarily, the most careful organisation. And, thereafter, they may find that, as in the inner spirit, so likewise in even the outward regulations of life there is no duality ; that religious and political Government are one and the same :—“politics” being only the practical application of religion, and “religion” the theory upon which alone true polity can build.

The time may be far distant ; nevertheless, those for whom we hope, the eternity for which we work, shall surely behold and rejoice in its arrival.

CHAPTER VIII.

LIBERTY AND EQUALITY.

Liberty and Equality. Republican Fraternity. Nationality.

THE spirit of our earth has made but two steps upon the path of life. History has written but two chapters. They are the two phases of individual life : *liberty* and *equality*.

Human life is educational. Humanity—the whole of human-kind—as is one man, whose law of life is growth, whose teacher is experience. Only in this they seem to differ : the man dies yet ignorant, immature, and his labour unaccomplished. Humanity lives to try new problems, problem after problem, experience after experience, till the sum of knowledge shall be complete. The ages of the earth are but as the days of a single life ; the experiences of nations are the world's acts.

History has been grandly called—one of God's poems. Be sure it is a poem neither wanting rhythm or purpose, though to many readers the metre seem but uncouthly fashioned, and to some, even of the writers—the purpose is not very clear. The world, indeed, is but an act of God, His thought informs it, be the historian never so profoundly dull.

Human life, we repeat, has as yet gone through but two phases of its existence—struggle for individual liberty, the struggle for individual equality. We date our years from the commencement of the second chapter. The first is the period of barbarism, the second is the era of Christianity.

The first savage inhabitants of the earth were free. Their ruling Spirit—their God—the Ideal they worshipped was Freedom.

They knew nought of the Younger God—Equality or Equal Right. Of the Spirit to proceed from them the wisest of the heathen scarcely dreamed.

The first problem set for the world's solving was this—*How to establish Freedom without regard to equal right.* For there are two sides to every question, two extremes to everything, use and abuse of all power. Men seek to propitiate the true divinity with offerings not divine. So Freedom was first sought for the sake of the seeker, not for love of the Truth. The world must prove all things before it shall hold fast what is good.

The Freedom of the world's first day was Anarchy: the anarchical assertion of Self. It vindicated only the will of the stronger. When the *Man* would be free, it was for his own sake only: when the *Nation* asserted the right of Freedom, it was against all others. Freedom was *my* God—the genius of the individual, or *our* God—the tutelary deity of a peculiar people. The freest kept his slaves. The Medes and Persians overthrew great Babylon, but to found new Babylonish empires; the Persians overcame the Mede, but to strive for mastery with the Greek; Greece spurned back the monstrous invasion of Persia, but to be free to play the lord at home. The freest Greek "Republics" were but aristocracies; corporations of freemen with masses of slaves below. Sparta had its helotry and the crypteia to keep the helots down. Wisest Athens was no wiser. Rome's great freemen laboured to enslave the world; and God's favoured race, His peculiar people, worshipped also at that heathen shrine of Self. God was *our* God, who made the kings of the lands our captives and bound the noblest in fetters of iron. Equal liberty was never the God of ancient worship. How could it be? Outside of Greece all was "barbarian;" outside of that narrow Judæa all was "heathen;" and the Roman freeman had not his distinguishing renown for nought.

The religions of the old world were one: however various their dogmas, however different their manifestations. They were all but endeavours (differing according to the genius or circumstances of the peoples) toward the solving of the first problem of human

progression—self-assertion—freedom for myself—the imperfect freedom which is anarchical—the religion of egotism, caste, and nationalism. Savage against savage first, the stronger claiming freedom even to enslave the weaker; then a warrior class—as in earliest Egypt—ruling all else; then priestcraft, for some time hand in hand with the warrior, and at length climbing upon his shoulders to still higher power, and, as in India, providing for the perpetuation of slavery by the establishment of castes. In the Holy Land the Jehovah of the Jews insists upon the narrowest worship, and there too is caste, the tribe set apart as holy, the privileged class, the Levitical mandarins. Phenicia was but an earlier Venice, as tyrannical a slavemaster. Sparta was no less terrible a despot. Athens taught her sons to swear upon her altar to make their country greater and more glorious; but only the citizen-class was so privileged; the slave and the alien shared neither the greatness nor the glory. One scourged the slave, massacring the bondmen when they grew too numerous, one slew the Amalekite, one dragged the nations at her horses' heels. The first Brutus could but transfer authority from the king to the patrician; Roman history within the walls is but the tale of never-ceasing contentions between the discontented slaves and their imperious lords; and Spartacus and the Grecchi vainly strove to pass the bounds in which great Roman Freedom was so haughtily confined. O Brutus! thy name stands highest among those who have dared to worship Freedom; O Roman Regulus! thy patriotism shall not be surpassed: yet it was *my* freedom, and *my* country for which you dared and did. *Self* was written on the altar though it stood in Freedom's temple. So did the old world solve the question—*How to establish Freedom without care for Equality*. It could not be so established. The question had been wrongly put. Without Equality Freedom may not last.

And yet *the God* was worshipped in the idol: though whom they did so ignorantly and devoutly worship had not been declared unto them. There is truth in the partial problem. Freedom even for one's self alone is so divine a thing, needs first that we call down the Divine into our own souls. There-

after the Spirit which has become one with us shall go forth to those that are yet in darkness. Divine indeed, the Spirit of Freedom which, burning fervently in the horn-lanterns of those untaught hearts, lit men's lives from the close darkness of the tomb of Self, to the beholding—not indeed of the horizoned width of earth, but of—the far-surrounding walls of earth's great temple—Country. It was something to step from the littleness of *Me* to the grandeur of *My Country*. The chamber of Self was enlarged, the prison of Freedom widened out. It was the Temple instead of the Ark. There was room for the imprisoned God, though still it was but a room; and the Universal Spirit could not be content. However, Time was young. The child walks in leadingstrings before its thews are strung. So the Free walked in the support of an antagonistic and selfish patriotism before he had gained strength to journey through the world. The fire was for a while shut in, that it might grow more intense. By-and-bye it shall embrace the world. Then men scarce knew there was a world. What was the world to the Roman? The Sabine and the Carthaginian enemy might be conquered or absorbed. Beyond were Scythian forests and the dim realms of the unknown, hidden in the fogs of the surrounding ocean. What could he discern in that bewilderment and gloom, whose very shape and bound was but an obscure enigma? But before him burned the sacred fire upon the altar of patriotism, the glory shone around the brows of her who sate upon the seven hills; he bowed him down and worshipped where the Divinity appeared. Glorious Roman selfishness—scarcely to be called selfish, however based on selfishness—indeed, it was a yearning out of self!—glorious and devout selfishness of a Brutus, a Curtius, and a Regulus! The highest Spirit of Freedom—whose name is Unbounded Duty—might well smile upon worshippers such as those. The glorious army of Martyrs, for Humanity has no nobler company than those who served Truth even though they knew him not. Their love of country was indeed selfish. Even within their country was the fatal division of noble and debased. Notwithstanding, as the widespreading oak is in the acorn, so the sublimity of Duty had its germ in Roman deed.

And then, as ever, were the men before their time, who without seeing the error of the system in which they lived, made of their lives an unconscious protest against it, and a prophecy of the future to which perhaps their highest thought had never soared. For the earliest age has in it some forecasting of the maturest. How many harvests in the one seed-corn! It is only for the sake of better understanding that we divide into periods. Even in the narrow hardness of old Rome were instincts of the universal humanity, and sometimes hopes of a brotherly organisation. Nevertheless, the broad characteristic of antique time was the worship of *Unequal Freedom*. Such exceptions as the following alter not the meaning of the whole. They are of the protests and the prophecies of which we spoke just now.

The Fabii were of the liberal party of the patricians. Unable to stem the tide of patrician oppression or to persuade the senate to consent to the long-deferred and mean-to-be-deferred division of the public lands among the plebeians, whose blood and sweat had earned them, Caeso Fabius, in his third consulship, on his return from a victorious campaign, came into the senate-house followed by every member of his family. If he might not do justice to the people, since the majesty of Roman Law held him back from civil war, he would no longer stay among the unjust. "Send us out"—he said—"against the Veians, and take ye care afterward of yourselves. We promise to protect the majesty of the Roman name." On the following day, the whole family, their households and their clients, passed through the gates of Rome, three hundred and six men, to give their lives away. Within two years not one remained to drive back new foes or to show the plebeians that there were some among the patricians to count them as fellow-citizens.

Are not the Zoo of Leonidas of the same devoted stamp? Freedom for Self and for that larger Self—one's country—could find no grander manifestation.

Yet that very grandeur, and even in its most exceptional moods, helped to prove the insufficiency of Unequal Liberty. It is proved nor needs the last poor clinching of an American repetition.

Unequal Freedom was not enough even with the Fabii to aid. To that chapter of human capability we can add nothing. On that unequal ground of human greatness none can outgrow the Roman and the Greek. The story of the Maccabees is of the same stature. And yet it avails not. The slaveholder shall not continue free. The ancient empires with all their nobleness have passed. Judæa and Greece become mere Roman provinces; Judæa is an unholy sepulchre, and an idiot squats on the yet beautiful corpse of Greece. Rome has been. The old Roman Freedom is not sufficient to revive her. All of ancient virtue could not maintain Freedom in one corner of the earth, Freedom could only remain with the whole earth for habitation. The gods departed from the nations, and in the winter depth when all was darkly still *the God* of humankind looked down upon the stable in which a poor man's child was born. And the Son appeared to make the Father known. Equality, the Slave's Mediator, to lead—not the favoured race, but—the Gentile world into the presence of Liberty. God is Liberty: Creative Freedom. Equality is the Christ: the Intercessor—atoning for offences, making all as one. The first chapter of human life was ended. The Anarch—Barbarism—Unequal Liberty—had reigned. Rightly do we date out years from the coming of the Preacher of human equality.

Not Liberty, but *Equality to lead men to Liberty* is the one distinguishing dogma of Christianity. How freemen and slaves, when all are children of God? That title effaces all distinctions. All are heirs of the promises. Who dares enslave the heir? Here is the one aim and meaning of Christianity; the one aim and meaning, which priests and protesting preachers alike have missed, for all their babbling of prevenient grace. The distinguishing characteristic of a religion is not to be known in only some poor points of formula or expression. Brahminism found God born of a pure virgin; Confucius in words as clear as Christ's foretaught the true morality of love. Not for that or the other dogma was Christianity the new religion; but because it brought down from heaven the new faith of the equality of man, so becoming the one great fact in human progress. For the first

step is not progress ; the second is. The first step was barbaric Freedom, the second is Equality from heaven. The first was Freedom because *I am a man*. The second is Equality because *we are all sons of God*.

Let us have done with the trivialities of a corrupt or stupid priesthood. A new religion is not a new set of pious formulas ; is not the change from Solomon's Temple to St. Peter's nor the Conventicle ; is not a new Sunday coat in which to occasionally parade ourselves before the Awful Majesty of the Eternal. A new religion is a new revelation, a new idea whispered by God into our souls for us to incarnate in daily fact. It is a new link in the chain with which we must be led to God, another round of the golden cord let down from heaven to draw us up. Our religion *is* different from that of old time. Our religion is the equal brotherhood of mankind. This, this only is Christianity. We are not else better than the heathen ; and without it the nations of Christendom would perish even as the ancient empires perished. There is absolutely no other difference (except in form) between the Christian and the heathen. Old Norse creeds taught as grandly the "Consecration of Valour," Mahommedanism as firm reliance upon the will of God ; humility (which is self-negation—but too often mistakenly confounded with true self-devotion) was never better learned than by the Buddhist. Let us not foolishly pride ourselves on any other difference between the Christian and the "Benighted." For it is not by complacently enthroning ourselves in the judgment seat of the sectarian, thanking God with Hebrew exclusiveness that we are not as those heathens were, nor by exaggeration of evils not peculiar to age or race, nor by any illiberal qualification of noblest deeds as well enough for such a time, nor by denial of the truth and conscience of antique life, that we can in any measure inform ourselves of the true meaning of God's earlier utterance in the world. In Him men lived and moved and had their being then as now. Their religious forms were then as now the human manifestations of His Spirit. Why needlessly degrade the characters of the ancient creeds? Christianity is strong enough to stand upon its own merits, asks not to

have its weakness propped by unwarranted piling up of the opposing errors. That in its earlier days Egyptian worship was not brutish, but sought, like the Persian, to track the Eternal, through the deep blue sea of heaven, by the shining course of suns and stars, nay, even by the hail of rarer comets, far less easily discerned ; that Indian philosophy, however wild its after errors, however deep its modern degradation, was not, at one time, ignorant of man's creation, his existence, or his immortality, but taught in sublimist words the emanation from the deity, the needs of purity and holiness, and the possible return to the bosom of the Father, a return in later times (yet far antecedent to the light that hung over Bethlehem) plainly announced by Buddha ; that, albeit Judaism was hopelessly intolerant, and though the offerings—not to be called worship—of Phenician traders were foul and fierce ; the faith of Greece could lead men to, at least, the porch of the Diviner Beauty of the world, and train up a Phidias, a Sophocles, a Plato, and a Timoleon, to penetrate toward the inner sanctuary ; that even the hidden mysteries of Greece and less refined Rome were not mere orgies of an atheistic licentiousness (however so perverted in the worst of days) ; that in all, ay ! even in the poorest forms of religion, were some words of God, more or less faintly enunciated as they might be in the craftily obscured language of a priestly paraphrase, and that the best were radiant with holy characters, which we, even in the purer and more perfect light of this ripening day, may find not altogether dim or cloudy ; this much surely may be acknowledged without fear, since the most of truth is but comparative, and the diviner less divine than the divinest, yet unrevealed, slumbering on the deeper heart of God. Rather than accuse the immaturities of the growing youth of time, it would behove us to inquire wherein our manlier energies have earned renown ; rather than upbraid the twilight of the earth, we should expose our own deeds to the searching light of this advancing day. The virtues that change not with the alterations of the world's seasons, nor with the progression of its years, were not wanting before the morning star kissed reverently the forehead of the poor, the houseless, and the weak.

The Socratic life has not yet been surpassed, even among the sects who can spare their pity for the "unconverted." Aristides is still pre-eminently the just. Yet stand as monumental examples to all time the constancy of the elder Brutus, the generous spirit of the Fabii, the noble motherhood of Cornelia, the devotion of our hero sons. And be such heights uncommon in the little span of Greece or Rome, do we outcount them with the later braveries of the length of 1800 years? Our own enlightened English life, how transiently it glowed with faith like that which warmed the patriot of old Rome or tempered the steel of Jewish valour to become the sword of the Lord and of Gideon. Our Drakes, our Sidneys, our Raleighs, are gathered into one forgotten constellation, and in another starry crown the jewelled lustres of Cromwell and his Peers are vainly overhanging the dull downward brow of England. Look away to the expiring Islam for the zeal which has fled the irreligious camp of Christendom. At what age, emulating the Athenian youth, or upon what altar do we moderns swear, though only in the silence of the heart, to labour to make our country greater and more glorious? Truly the mouldy and scarce-read chapters of old heroic story might seem to offer proof that the world sinks into shameful discrepitude, but that some rays yet reach us from the glorified front of Milton; Danton's noble voice yet thunders through the clouds, and Poland's Martyr Hymn and Rome's Eternal Song are yet upheld by valiant and prophetic lives. Nor, unable to claim pre-eminence in actual virtue, are the unheathened times entitled to a negative praise for avoidance of crime or virtue. The Cæsar Borgia, the Szela, and the lesser Napoleon, are all of Christian growth. And Christian also are the Dark Ages, the Jesuits, and the Inquisition. Not therefore do we underrate the vantage of Christianity, of the new era beginning with the advent of the Nazarene.

Whether we regard the caste-systems of Egypt and India, the martial despotism of Persia, the rule of wealth and craft in Phenicia, or the class-divisions of Greece and Rome and Judæa, the one obvious characteristic will be found pervading the ancient nations: everywhere the social fabric was built upon the assumption of *the*

natural inequality of man, the necessary, because divinely appointed, inferiority of certain races. And this not only within the pale of the nation, but universally without. Everywhere was the same idea (most strongly exemplified in the Spartan crypteia and the Jewish slaughter of the Amalekites), the religious dogma of a peculiar people, and within that again a peculiar race, each more or less assured of its divine establishment. Not in the superstitious tenets and observances of heathen theology, nor in the absence of a law of right and wrong, nor in any want of the higher powers of humanity, nor in any difficulties—from which we have now exemption—in the way of a wider benevolence, nor in the lack of such advantages as we are licensed to reap from the discovery of printing, nor in any supposed inefficacy of human toils to assure progress—but in *this universal religious dogma of human inequality*, we find the sufficing reason of the imperfect freedom and consequent decline of the greatest and the freest empires of antiquity. But when the antique period closed, Christianity stood forth with one clear dogma—The divine Equality of Man. Men's rights ignorantly asserted, contended for upon no ground except that common to both right and wrong—the ground of expediency, convenience, fitness or present strength—these, in such manner, had been urged even from the beginning ; but now the ground of right was taught as a religious faith—and in the face of a privileged priesthood, in the face of the divine appointment of caste, was proclaimed the sacred and indissoluble brotherhood of man, through one equal Father—God. Henceforth, Freedom had a place whereupon to stand. Archimedes could plant his lever ; the world began to move.

Centuries before the Christian era Buddha had flung forth the same truth, but it had not fairly grown. Either the concurrent doctrine of poverty and renunciation, better suited to Asiatic indolence, neutralised its effects, or else, perhaps, the doctors of Buddhism were more successful than the doctors of Christianity in persuading their disciples of the utter worthlessness of the present life, and the wisdom for the unclerical, at least, of being content with a mere spiritual equality before God ; the enterprising nature

of the European possessed a hardier logic. Notwithstanding the passive character of Christ, despite the apostolic avoidance of any interference with political systems or between the classes of society (wherefrom their Christianity has been dragged in as a witness for slavery), maugre the reiterated exhortation to submit to every ordinance of man :—the dogma of equality remained at the base of the new faith, to be pursued through all its hearings to its proper end. “Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar’s,” but what are they?

Does a son of God belong to Cæsar? When it was perceived that all men—the slave as well as the free—the poor as well as the wealthy—the plebeian as well as the patrician—were of one blood, the children of one common Father, whose regard saw only the human soul, whether under imperial purple or in the filth of trampled rags, then the bond of authority—the idolatry of caste—was broken. If the outcast was as the Emperor before God, why should not the poor despised be the Emperor’s equal upon earth? Rome, choosing her priests from the plough, asserted the equality of mankind, vindicated the right of genius to devote itself to God; and the base born and the beggar climb above the thrones of princes; a lesson not to be forgotten when the priest himself turned to harlotry, and, faithless to the spirit of his own power, renewed a heathen division into castes—the clerkly and the lay. Huss came next, bearing the cup to the people; all men are priests and equal.

Luther demands the right of conscience, at least in spiritual affairs. Voltaire and the Encyclopedists are but echoers of the same claim, yet not pushing the consequences to their full extent. The dogma yet advances from thought and word to very deed.

Men rise and trample upon the necks of kings, proclaiming their political equality. To the social is the next step, there is no retreat. Is not equality there also? Free-trade springs from the same seed, and, the reaction against the hierarchal complete, Proudhonist, Atheism, and Communism are reached. The world tastes even of the worst, be it never so briefly, to learn in all ways the flavour of equality.

What matters it that we have but experimented ; that yet nowhere the Christian equality is really formulised ; that society, as in healthiest days, maintains its old fatal divisions of freemen and governed, or rich and poor—a still less tolerable establishment ? What though in one or other of the decayed nations may be found the types of our improved institutions ? the falsehood of all that inequality is no longer believed true. We have not done, but we have learned. Who sees not that the days of inequality are numbered ? The world leaps not from change to change, but slowly and cautiously steps through long ages of transition, wherein the many-featured experiment of the new is so tried.

So the wisdom of the past accumulates, and the world has never to relearn its lesson. So, letter by letter, the lesson of *equality* has been spelled till it is well nigh learned. Many a word may be misunderstood till the whole sentence has been mastered ; but at length, tried in every way, equality is recognised as true ; not, indeed, as the end, but as the means—the base of the world's building, the ground of universal freedom, the beginning of the world's sure progress ; and freedom thenceforward established as the inalienable birthright of all mankind, the political lesson of Christianity is accomplished ; the evening and the morning complete another day ; and again a new era dawns upon the insatiate hopes, the toils, the progression of Humanity.

For equality is but for the individual's gain. It is not for the sake of others but for my own sake that I care to establish the equality of freedom. Am I weak ?—it is my only protection. Am I strong—can I be sure there are none stronger ? Equality of right is the only assurance of universal freedom. If freedom is not universal, who knows but I may be among the exceptions ? Once break the rule, who shall be sure ? But now in the universal equality Self embraces the whole world ; and the next progress is beyond self. Duty succeeds to right—Right takes its place at the feet of duty. It is for humanity's sake that I am free.

Equality and freedom are but means, not ends ; their true significance the unchecked opportunity of growth.

There is yet work and worth before us.

Though we establish our freedom upon the enduring basis, we win therefrom no title to immediate rest, as if our triumph had snatched a millennium from eternity or ransomed from traditionary tombs the pleasant garden of content.

God's Angels—memory and hope—have for ever barred the paradise of unplucked knowledge; and endowing us with the wisdom of our faults, and promises of glorious worth unknown as yet, with flaming swords, lighting the path of time, point to the future as the only goal of man.

As one lives not for himself alone, but also for his fellows, so generation after generation lives and acts for those that follow—even as a father for his children. Not for present enjoyment—albeit cheerfulness is present joy, the passage of beauty a delight for ever, and the veriest torture of the martyr's wreath of fire as nothing in comparison with his serenity of soul—yet not for enjoyment, but for works of future worth, man's life springs upward from the earth, like a blade of wheat grass appointed toward the harvest.

And here we tread upon the threshold of the new era—the era of *organisation for the sake of universal progress*, that the free growth of individuals may be ordered to a more abundant garnering.

Christianity has no instruction here; nor indeed any marvel thereat, calling to mind its aim, before considered—not the inculcation of the political system (void of that as on lessons in mechanics or in the economy of wealth), nor the establishment of order, but rather the breaking down of the inequality of caste, and of the absurd and unjust authority of tyrannical and patriarchal ages, for the revenging of right, *the right of the individual*, redeeming the souls of men with the faith that they are amenable to none but God.

All that fusion and blind obedience could accomplish for organisation, the unchristian Empires had achieved. Of a horde of slaves the Christian religion—the faith which places the lowest man in immediate relation with God—the faith which is the cause of duty—has made or yet shall make a race of men; the gospel of equal freedom becomes manifest to all, slavery is thenceforth

impossible, and the second age of the world (whose motive power has been this religion of two thousand years) completes the cycle.

The God of the world's first day was freedom ; very God, however blindly or unworthily adored ; God the Father, the Creator, who brooded over the chaos of the world's barbarism and bade the light appear ; God, whose angel drove men from the paradise of a bestial content into suffering and sin, that through the knowledge and experience of good and ill they might become God-like, wise unto their own salvation.

The God of the second day, of our two thousand years, is the word which proclaimed men to be divine, sons of God, and equal brothers upon earth ; so rebuking the isolation of the heathen freemen.

And this word has not been peace, but a sharp sword to pierce through and through till the bond are free. The first law was growth ; our second gospel is righteousness.

The God of the future, the motive power which shall rule the approaching time, the Comforter who shall surely come, is the spirit of Wisdom, which is more than truth and love, and yet one with them ; the spirit which shall bind together the whole human race in their families and nations—like the many sorts of grain into their several sheaves, and all into one harvest.

This is the spirit proceeding from the Father and the Son ; the spirit of harmony, which is peace ; which, following the knowledge of true liberty and the triumph of a loving equality, shall touch our brows with holy flame when the day of Pentecost is fully come.

Then will commence the third day, the third chapter of the book of human life, the chapter of duty, of organisation, the work of

Republican Fraternity.

The knell has rung for American slavery, a garrison's strength has not been used in vain. The funeral bells of all the most Christian kings are pealing fast. Bury your dead out of your way. The Hour of the peoples cometh on.

“ Victory, Victory ! feel'st thou not, O world,
The earthquake of his chariot thundering up
Olympus ? ”

The great European war is recommenced, the war between peoples and governments, the strife for nationality, for national organisation, that the free may turn their freedom to its fullest use.

What matter how the waves recoil ? the tide flows surely on.

No imperial word, from the East or from the West, can stay the flood. The revolutionary deluge must overspread the earth. The day of kings and governments is no more.

The day of the real freedom dawns at last. Free-men begin to organise themselves in their several nationalities, no more played with or exploited and sadly severed or unequally yoked together for the caprice or interest of tyrants ; no more organised only for outward policies or for police at home, but organised to make of their whole lives one strong and righteous progress for the good of all, for the glory of the Eternal.

The Italian dream of Caius Gracchus is realised ; some younger Phidias may now sculpture the new Grecian glory ; Poland gathers smilingly the abundant harvest of her worth ; Germany has awakened from her dreams ; Russia crowns the tombs of Pestel and the Mouravieff's ; France atones the infamy of these unhappy days.

And is not England among the nations ? Have not we too our part in the contention, our duty toward the right—duty to be performed in our own country and toward our fellows even of remotest lands ?

Where is the sword that struck terror into the hearts of tyrants ? Where is the zeal that counted no odds in the battle for the right ? Where the indomitable bravery of our Alfred, the courageous stubbornness that turned at bay on the field of Agincourt, the desperate daring of Florez' fight ? Where are the conquerors of the Armada, the protectors of the Waldenses ? Where is Blake, the champion of the right ? And Nelson, who fought so well even upon a doubtful quarrel ? Where is the heroism which made England great abroad, for all the unchristian slavery at home ?

And where is this goodly tower of a Commonwealth which the English boasted they would build to overshadow kings, and be another Rome in the West? Who shall begin to build its bricks one upon the other, who shall lay the first stone?

Or is the Commonwealth here already—the goodly tower well built, needing only some little corner-rounding, waiting only to be admired by all, when the statues of the Iretons and the Blakes, the Hampdens and the Vanes, shall be arranged in their due order?

Is equality the English rule? Are all free citizens?

Are there none of the proved errors of the past still cherished by our patrician and phenician wisdoms? Are all our people free?

Is there no division of governors and governed, free and bond, unjustly rich and wretchedly impoverished?

Have all education, all the means of work—which is worth doing—all the opportunities of worshipful lives?

Or, have we lingered in the unchristian ways till the curse of antique folly—the curse of decline and death—steals almost unnoticed on us? Have we, once foremost among the peoples, yet to learn the very beginning of liberty, yet to ground ourselves in the rudiments of humane philosophy, yet to stammer confusedly ere we dare pronounce the Christian equality? Is it only for the poor and unlearned to continue their many years' struggle for the place of manhood, the right of citizenship, whereupon alone the duty of a citizen can be fulfilled for the nation's and the world's good; and are our leaders and governors yet so blind that they insist on dragging us into the doom of barbarous years? O ye who call yourselves Christian! and ye who would be patriots! and ye who would be just! and ye who think that righteousness is possible or peace desirable! what are ye that eighteen centuries after Christ you do not require the freedom even of your meanest brethren?

Where is English valour, where is English hope, where is English sense, that a few fools who call themselves our representatives drive us like a herd of beasts into the depths wherein both slaves and tyrants perish?

Kings and slaves are passing away. Nothing is stable but the

righteous growth. Only upon the ground of equal freedom can the future be organised, or peace alight with healing on her wings. The present dies out, having done its work. England is not without hope for the future. Wherefore, let us be up and doing.

The Social and Democratic Republic. Hither is our aim. The absolute sovereignty of the whole people, directly exercised for the social organisation of the whole people, for the better government of society. Not upon us Republicans rests the charge of desiring anarchy.

We would not have government a mere nonentity. It is not we, but the Proudhons, the Gerardins, the Cobdens, and the Humes, who would make their damnable non-intervention theory not only the rule of international conduct, but the rule of our ordering at home.

Let the strongest bear rule, and the weaker go to the wall ! Let the rich have addition without end, and from the poor take away the little that remains to him !

We Republicans want not this, but the equal freedom which shall protect the poor man, lessen poverty of all kinds, and give to the poorest the opportunity of honestly acquiring wealth of mind and of estate. And care not what may be said about the unfitness of the people for freedom, about the blunders they will make, the mischief they will do to themselves ! Let it be so. Who made the Peels and the Russels, and the Beresfords and the reforming Jacob Bells, and the respectable knaves of St. Albans and elsewhere our tutelar deities, our guardian angels, to keep the most ignorant of us from going astray ? Let the people go astray !

They will find their way in time toward the truth, and learn wisdom through experience.

Let them go astray ! *but let them give up being led astray !* For your kindest and most careful governors have a sad knack of going wrong also.

Universal freedom, absolute freedom, equal freedom. Not that each should be independent of the rest, but that the whole should be firmly bound and banded together by their own free wills : that upon the only sure ground of equality of right we may freely build up the scheme of duty, and establish the brotherhood of humanity, an organisation of all the powers and faculties of the whole, for the growth and progression of the whole, from generation to generation, for ever and ever.

Nationality.

When Curius Dentatus in his second consulship was holding a levy preparatory to meeting Pyrrhus in the field, and a momentary hesitation about enlistment was manifest among the people, he ordered the name of a tribe to be taken by lot, and then the name of one of its members, also drawn by lot, to be called. The man thus summoned not appearing, Curius directed his property to be seized and publicly sold, and on the delinquent's hastening forward to appeal to the Tribunes against the Consul, the latter commanded him also to be sold, declaring that the commonwealth had no need of a citizen who would not perform his duty of citizenship.

The Roman understood the meaning of patriotism ; the duty of the individual to the nation.

In our day a man flings off his country as if it were an old shoe, with as little conscience as if in the first instance he had chosen it for a mere whim and now might discard it at his caprice.

Thomas Francis Meagher renounced his allegiance to the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland of whom he was a subject ; Kossta, Hungarian born, was protected by America on account of his supposed right of American citizenship. Lord Brougham petitioned the French authorities to make a Frenchman of him and not a whit less English. Messrs. Sturgeon cheated their country as they would not venture to cheat a Yankee private Customer ; powder was supplied to Russia, war steamers were built for Russia

by English traders : and free trade, "peace," and the individual right of voluntary action are still appealed to for the disregard of patriotic duty. Is the duty to one's country to be so shirked ?

Is there any such thing as duty? should rather be the question. If there is duty, how shall it be shown ?

Did Meagher really owe allegiance to the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland? We trow not. But owing none, there was nothing to renounce.

He did owe allegiance to Great Britain and Ireland. Say Ireland only. Upon what ground? Simply that he was an Irishman born and bred.

He was the growth of Ireland. He belonged to Ireland. My country is not the country belonging to me, but the country to which I belong.

If Meagher ever owed allegiance to Ireland it was on this ground, not at all a matter of his own choice, but a duty imposed upon him at his birth.

Born Irish, a man will die Irish, whatever he may call himself. He may be dutiful or undutiful ; an Irish patriot or an Irish rebel (for the only real rebellion is treason against one's country), but he will never be an American. Even slave-souled John Mitchel could not manage that.

Kossta did not pretend to deny that he was Hungarian. He denied only the right of Austria or of an Austrian tyrant over Hungary. He, the Hungarian, in his duty to Hungary, was at war with the Austrian usurper.

He pretended not to claim American citizenship as an escape from his Austrian allegiance. He claimed the help of the stranger who had no rights over him, against an enemy who would usurp a right over him.

Captain Ingraham's ground of American citizenship was untenable. Kossta could not be an American citizen, though the whole Union should acclaim him.

He was Kossta the Hungarian. Born and to die Hungarian.

On the ground of humanity, stepping between the tyrant and his victim, America had right of interference.

No pretence of citizenship was needed to justify that. No claim of citizenship could justify it.

If there is such a thing as duty, how shall it be shown? The highest duty is the duty to humanity. But how accomplish that duty if you neglect those very organisations of humanity which are the means of usefulness? If a man neglects his duty to his family, he is neglecting the nation of which that family is a component part. If he neglects his duty to that larger family—his nation,—he neglects the world of which the nation is a part.

Acknowledge duty, and you can no more throw out of view the country than you can throw off family or humanity. You may as well neglect one as the other, and all as one.

True, there are what seem exceptional cases: cases in which the family must be sacrificed to the country, the country forsaken for humanity.

Wherever the higher right, the more important duty, there, if right and duties "clash," is the man bound.

My first duty is to my own nature; to perfect that. For what? Merely for my own sake?

Are sun, and moon, and stars, this globe and all that it contains—are all the hosts of heaven, and all powers of past and present, but my servants, to perfect *me*?

Am I God then, to be so self-sufficient? Rather is my nature to be perfected that I may be the abler servant of God, and of God's humanity, through which alone I can render service to Him. So soon as I am able to serve I am bound to serve.

My family are there next to me for my first service. Not because they are mine, my possession, but because I am theirs—in virtue of having power to serve them, the nearest part of God's humanity. Through them I serve my country—through my country the human family—that country of countries.

Some day may come in which my duty may no longer be to train up the young citizens for the State, some day in which the happy home life I offer as the best worth with which I can serve and example my country may no longer be best service. There is

war upon our borders, and whoso can bear arms must leave wife and children, to drive back the invader.

If I stay at home, who will not call me traitor? The universal conscience answers.

The voice of the people is the voice of God. Every tongue brands me as a traitor. How so, if my country has not a right to my devotion?

But suppose the country is an aggressor, the war unjust? The country, blinded with passion, depraved by lust of gain, still claims me as its soldier.

As my duty to my family is but a part of duty to my country, so duty to my country is but a part of duty toward humanity.

The unjust war is a wrong to humanity. Not that I am less dutiful to my country, but that the higher duty is to humanity. Nay, is not my refusal to take part in that great wrong the best service I can render even to my country?

Are there not times in which such "rebellion" is a duty?

When the American Legislature ordered its subjects to kidnap men, to be guilty of the highest of all crimes and treasons, then to rebel against that order became the duty of every honest citizen.

It can never be any man's duty to do wrong.

It is for the sake of truth and the realisation of truth—which is right—that I owe a duty to my family, duty to my country, duty to my generation, duty unto the human future.

For such honest and right rebellion my country may cast me out. What then? Let me serve my country even against its will. I may influence it even from without. My country may hinder me from fulfilling a citizen's duty: it can not absolve me from the duty, it can not hinder continual attempt. The natural tie between us can not be severed. As to some tyranny which is not the country, that is altogether beyond the question. Kossta was not exiled by his country, but by the Austrian. Meagher never believed that Ireland exiled him. Why then did he break with Ireland? It is only poor piratical Paul Jones that quarrels with his country for some private pique.

Is an adopted home then impossible? It can never be more than secondary. Say that Meagher, driven from Ireland, taking refuge in America, seeks as an American citizen to serve humanity, having no opportunity now of acting as an Irish citizen. The "no opportunity now" is his only justification. In some few years, perhaps, Ireland would recal him, will demand back her citizen and his service. Has he the right of renouncing Ireland? Can he be citizen of two lands at once, like clever Lord Brougham? And the two lands perhaps at war.

· Sentence of exile, residence, however long in the place of refuge, laws of naturalisation; none of these things can overthrow the natural right or destroy the law of duty. Men may pass laws, but the law of God remains unaltered.

The Emigrants who would found a new nation are no exception to the rule. English colonies are English. But the colony grows into the nation as the child into the man. It has thenceforth its own character, its own ideal of life, its own nationality. It does not renounce the parent nationality: it outgrows it. But "America renounced it." True! So sometimes by ill-conduct the father drives out the boy from home. That is not the natural course. Nor is it good. The boy is not a man, therefore, America suffers for its prematurity.

But free-traders, peace-men, and voluntaryists, object to our doctrine. The assertion of the individual right is all-sufficient for them. Let us see where this supremacy of the individual would lead us. Trade is, properly speaking, the exchange of the world's material wealth. That can not be too free. Clearly enough the freedom is for the world's benefit, not on account of the individual carriers.

The good of the community is the ground of the freedom. It is a contradiction to ask any freedom beyond the good of the community. If one man sells gunpowder to Russia, and another manufactures war steamers for our enemy, this is an abuse of free trade. They may be so selling, not merely gunpowder and steam ships, but their country's freedom and very existence as a nation. They are not only selling powder, but selling me and you. The

national right overrules the particular. The trader has a right to trade and profit only so long as he does not rob society—his immediate customers, his country, humanity.

If his private right is absolute and the national right of no esteem, to-morrow he may sell his dockyard to the enemy, his quarter of the town, his portion of this English soil: hand over Manchester or Portsmouth to Russia for the red gold.

It is absurd enough, but it is the logical following out of the absurdity of absolute individual right, which leads naturally to the abolition of all bonds of duty, which throws back life to the savagest state of ignorant dutilless anarchy.

The Russian newspapers in their lists of voluntary subscriptions publish an offering of 3,000 roubles to the Tzar from an English Company at St. Petersburg; with what theory of duty does that square? If the action is right, why may not Englishmen at Manchester follow in the same course? Why stop at 3,000 roubles? The other day a Scotchman bequeathed a million to the Tzar, to furnish the war against Scotland. Quite right? Why not a Russian Loan too, and every possible assistance to the Tzar in his endeavours to enslave the world—including our own little Island-corner? Will the free-trader justify that length, or where will he draw the line? If the Government is right in confiscating powder going to the enemy, on what ground is it right? Will you find any but the ground of nationality: the right which overrules individual right?

The other day an American sold himself into slavery. The voluntaryist must justify him. Might he not do what he liked with his own?

The believer in duty asserts that the man is not his own: that he belongs to God, to God's humanity, to his country. That part belongs to the whole. There is no atom of dust independent of the universe.

Your free-traders, voluntaryists, and peace-men, overstrain individual right and lose sight of the solidarity of life.

But is the individual to be merged in the State? Far from it; but he may never forget that he is a part of the State. Is my

conscience to submit to any human ordinance? We say not that, only be sure that it is conscience which opposes ordinance. Conscience seeks how best to perform duty, not how to evade it. Conscience is God's Angel, the good genius which leads us to the fulfilment of right for the service of humanity.

Combination is stronger than isolated and incoherent action. Wherefore God implanted in men the tendency to associate, gathering them into families and nations.

And the law of nationality remains, whatever mistakes may have been made by those whose ignorance found only a narrow interpretation, who knew not that the nation itself is but an individual in the great family of Nations, a family in the great Country of mankind.

NOTES.

INTRODUCTION. In 1848 there was published a periodical called *The Republican*, appearing monthly, devised for advocating the radical reforms necessary for the practical recognition of the Rights of Man. In this Mr. Linton wrote a number of articles, and his contributions are more numerous than any of the others appearing above the names of the contributors. The following are the subjects treated by Mr. Linton and signed: *Italy and Her Princes, The Swiss Question, The Icarian Communists of France, The Policy of Europe, Ireland and Repeal, The French Republic, England's Instant Duty, Universal Suffrage, Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, The Democratic Principle of the People's Charter*. He also contributed a number of poems with his *nom de plume* "Spartacus" attached. In the article entitled *Universal Suffrage* are passages which were afterwards introduced into his articles on the same subject in *The English Republic*.

Mr. Linton's first wife was a sister of Thomas Wade, poet and journalist, by whom he appears to have been considerably influenced during his earlier years.

In an article dealing mainly with Mr. Linton's work as an engraver in *The English Illustrated Magazine* for April, 1891, issued as the present volume was passing through the press, Mr. F. G. Kitton, the author, refers his readers to a book entitled, "Our American Cousins," by Mr. W. E. Adams, the present editor of *The Newcastle Chronicle*, who was one of those who answered to Mr. Linton's call in *The Red Republican*, and who also went to Brantwood in 1854 "to help in the mechanical portion of the publication of *The English Republic*." Mr. Adams adds some interesting reminiscences of Mr. Linton.

It will be observed in the course of these essays that events which at the present day have become matters of history are referred to; events that occurred between forty and fifty years ago, which were contemporary at the time the essays were written. All such allusions which will be readily understood by the student of 19th century history I have allowed to remain; but others which had but a passing interest, which were merely topical, I have ventured to delete, or so to alter as to render the passages understandable without adding profuse notes in explanation of such references.

Page 1. This chapter on "Republican Principles" is based upon an Address to the Peoples of Europe, which was issued in 1850 by the Central European Democratic Committee in the second number of *Le Proscrit*, a monthly journal published in Paris and London. With the third number its name was changed to *La Voix du Proscrit*, and it became the organ of the Central Committee. In writing *Republican Principles* Mr. Linton intended it as a general exposition of the principles of Republicanism which were to be treated in further numbers of *The English Republic* with more detail. On the whole, the principles

set forth by Mr. Linton resemble very closely those of the "Address," but he has digressed sometimes, so as to make the exposition more easily understood by the English readers to whom he addressed it, by illustrations and applications, which are all, however, in logical agreement with the principles of the "Address."

Page 2. Mr. Linton does not here enter into the still vexed question of circumstances, save to remark that it cannot be denied that circumstances *before* birth have weight as well as those which effect the organism *after* birth. "No two children are absolutely alike; no two are born with precisely the same aptitude or capacity." It seems almost absurd to remark on so obvious a truism, but so frequently is it lost sight of, particularly in the matter of education, that attention cannot be drawn to it too often.

Page 6. Mr. Linton has here seized on the idea which has been formulated by Mr. Herbert Spencer and reduced to a sociologic law in his "Principles of Sociology"—*viz.*, that Society is one organism, and that each individual is a part or a single organ of this vast structure, which must develop or retrogress with the development or retrogression of Society. Each of these units has its separate function, but it can only live and display its normal activity in connection with the parent organism.

Page 13. It is here that we see most clearly the gulf which separates so widely and so deeply the Republican and the Socialist. It is quite a common thing to hear of Republicanism spoken of as a form of Socialism, but the notion is erroneous. The two systems are in opposition. The only thing in common between them is that which is common also to Individualism, to Social Democracy, and to all schemes of a kindred nature, the desire of improving the existing social conditions and the knowledge of the inequalities in the social system; inequalities which require to be righted.

Page 20. *Education*.—The author wishes it to be clearly understood that whenever the word "Government" is used, it is the Government he advocates, and not any existing forms which he considers are but mockeries of the word's meaning. This distinction should be specially borne in mind when he is treating of Education, as it is here that the different merits of State-Education and Voluntaryism appear most vividly.

Page 40. It is contended by Mr. Linton that a State Church should embrace men of all denominations. Unless it does so, its existence is intolerable as a connection of the State.

Page 43. The centralisation, of which the English Government is a striking instance, is to be done away with in an English Republic, as it is not the business of Government to interfere with local affairs—the Government only to superintend and harmonise the whole.

Page 44. Waste lands are to be appropriated by the Government, not necessarily to enclose them, but to prevent the encroachments of private persons, who possess no right to encroach thereon.

Page 47. An uniform rental should be charged on the land, any improvement made by the tenant to benefit himself alone, and not to be used as an excuse for raising his rent.

Page 53. When the State takes upon itself to punish private vices, it is overstepping its prerogative and interfering with individual liberty. It can only interfere where such vices affect others.

Page 62. Mr. Linton appends a note to the effect that "If it were proposed to leave the prosecution of criminals to voluntary effort, the voluntaries themselves would inquire if we were ready to have society crushed beneath the power of crime: Because the restraint and punishment of criminals is necessary to the security of the State, provision of a *certain* character is made; and it is only because education is looked upon as a matter of less consequence than the detection and punishment of criminals that it is left, or proposed to be left—for *philanthropy to play with.*"

Page 63. The religion taught in the schools would not be sectarian. On Sundays, parents might inculcate the principles of the sect to which they belonged if so they chose.

Page 64. It is remarked that physical exercise is not advocated for mere health's sake, but also for the perfection of the senses. For there is a close relation between the habit of mind and body.

Page 106. Mr. Linton here seems to have anticipated recent legislation. Even the terms he uses, "Local Government," "County Council," &c., &c., have now become part of current politics.

Page 129. Various protests by Socialists against the article called "Socialism and Communism" reached the author, to which he replied that although he was a social and a democratic Republican, he was not a Socialist, and that if his correspondents did "not repudiate Property, Individuality, Family, Country, or Religion," they were not the kind of *Socialists* he had attacked.

Page 191. The Crypteia: when the Spartans thought their slaves were growing too numerous, they sent out their young freemen to massacre a sufficient number. This was instituted by Lycurgus.

Plato proposes a similar institution for his Cretan Republic.

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